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# JOURNAL
OF THE
STRAITS BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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**JUNE, 1890.**

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SINGAPORE:
Printed at the Government Printing Office.

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Agents of the Society:

London and America, ... Trübner & Co.
Paris, ... Ernest Leroux & Cie.
Germany, ... K. F. Koehler's Antiquarium, Leipzig.

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# THE
# STRAITS BRANCH
# OF THE
# ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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# MR. R. B. SHARPE ON BIRDS COLLECTED IN PERAK.

FROM the collections previously sent by Mr. Wray (*cf.* P. Z. S., 1886, p. 350, and 1887, p. 431), it was so easy to prophecy that his future explorations would bring to light the existence of more Himalayan genera in the high mountains of the Malay Peninsula, that I can take little credit for my prognostications; but the foreshadowing of Mr. Wray's accomplishments does not impair the credit of that explorer's success in his last expedition into the mountain ranges of the interior of the Peninsula.

He states that the mountains, on which he has lived for six months, "contain really very few more birds than the Larut range, though they are so much more extensive," and he collected up to an altitude of 7,000 feet.

By the present collection several interesting forms have been revealed, representatives of allied species in Tenasserim, and the ranges of several birds are extended southwards. The genera hitherto unrecorded from the mountains of Malacca are *Anthipes, Brachypteryx, Gamsorhynchus,* and *Cutia*—all Himalayan in Tenasserim forms, of which, so far as we know, only *Brachypteryx* has occurred in Sumatra. The Avifauna of the latter island is further linked to that of the mountain ranges of the Malay Peninsula by the discovery of a black Babbling Thrush representing the *Melanocichla bicolor* of Sumatra.

The unexampled success which has attended Mr. Wray's efforts so far will, we hope, encourage him to still further investigations of the interesting region in which he is domiciled.

The references in the present paper are chiefly to Mr. Oates' "Handbook of the Birds of British Burma," which includes an allusion to the paper on the birds of Tenasserim by Messrs. Hume & Davison. I have also referred to Count Salvadori's essay on Dr. Beccari's collections from high Sumatra (Ann. Mus. Civic. Genov. xiv, p. 169), whenever there occurs any affinity in the Avifauna of that island with the collection under discussion.

Mr. Wray's original remarks, by far the most important part of the present paper, are placed in inverted commas.

### Fam.—FALCONIDÆ.

*Neopus malayensis* (Temm.).

*Neopus malayensis,* Sharpe, P. Z. S., 1887, p. 433; Hume, Str. F., 1879, p. 44.

"No. 18. ♀ ad. Mountains of Perak (Gunong Batu Puteh).

"Irides brown; feet yellow; cere yellow; expanse 5 feet 10 in., length 2 feet 5 in.

"The stomach contained the remains of a rat, a bird's egg, and a snake's egg. The plumage of this specimen was far darker than that of the two I obtained last year on the Larut Hills."

### Fam.—CORVIDÆ.

*Platylophus ardeciacus* (Blyth).

*Platylophus ardesiacus,* Sharpe, Cat. Birds Brit. Mus., iii, p. 137; Hume & Davison, Str. F., 1878, p. 380; Oates, B. Brit. Burm., i, p. 410; Hume, Str. F., 1879, p. 66.

"No. 117. ♀ ad. Batang Padang (mountains of Perak).

"Irides dark brown; bill black; feet and leg black. It frequents the undergrowth of the forest."

### Fam.—CAMPOPHAGIDÆ.

*Pericrocotus wrayi,* Sp. n. (Plate xv).

"No. 53. *P. igneus,* ♂ ♀ ad. Batang Padang mountains, Perak."

I can hardly believe that this is the species I identified and returned to Mr. Wray as *Pericrocotus igneus* (P. Z. S., 1887, p. 435. If such be the case, I was greatly in error, for the pair of birds now sent are decidedly distinct from that species. *P. wrayi* has the quill-lining red, instead of yellow, and also the under wing-coverts, and it has the throat slaty grey and the ear-coverts slaty black, instead of glassy black like the head. Total length 6.3 in., culmen 0.5, wing 3.1, tail 3.2, tarsus 0.55. The female of *P. igneus* differs very much from the female of *P. wrayi* in being entirely bright yellow below and in having a scarlet rump. The nearest ally of *P. wrayi* as regards the female plumage is that of *P. brevirostris,* but *P. wrayi* is of a darker slate-grey, has a brighter yellow lower back and rump, no yellow on the forehead, and the chin white.

The males of *P. neglectus* and *P. brevirostris* differ in their glassy black throat and fiery crimson, not scarlet, under surface.

While on the subject of the genus *Pericrocotus,* I may mention that Count SALVADORI very kindly sent me over the types of his new species from Tenasserim, and I am able to state with certainty that *P. rubrolimbatus,* Salvad., Ann. Mus. Civic. Genov. (2) v, p. 582, is=*P. solaris,* and *P. pulcherrimus,* Salvad., *t. c.*, p. 580, is=*P. neglectus* of Hume.

*Pericrocotus croceus,* Sp. n.

"No. 107. ♂ ad. Gunong Batu Puteh (4,300 feet).

"Irides dark brown; legs and feet black."

This is a beautiful bird, but I feel grave doubts whether it is anything more than a yellow variety of *P. wrayi,* the red part in *P. wrayi* being golden yellow in *P. croceus,* and the throat is darker, being black like the cheeks and sides of face. Total length 6.1 inches, culmen 0.45, wing 3.4, tail 2.95, tarsus 0.55.

## FAM.—MUSCICAPIDÆ.

*Muscicapula hyperythra* (Blyth).

*Muscicapula hyperythra,* Sharpe, Cat. B. Brit. Mus., iv, p. 206; Salvad., *t. c.*, p. 203.

"No. 93. ♂ ad. Ulu Batang Padang (4,200 feet).

"Irides dark brown; legs and feet flesh-colour. Frequents the undergrowth in the forests."

This little Flycatcher is now recorded from the Malay

Peninsula for the first time. Its presence was, however, to be suspected, as the species occurs in the Eastern Hymalayas and again in Java and Sumatra.

*Muscicapula westermanni,* Sp. n.
"No. 115. ♂ ad. Gunong Ulu Batang Padang (4,200 feet).
"Irides light brown."

*Adult male.*—General colour above blue grey, with a slight brown wash on the scapulars and lower back; rump ochreous brown; upper tail-coverts a little more refuscent; wing-coverts dusky, edged with ochreous brown; bastard-wing, primary-coverts, and quills blackish, fringed with olive-brown, the secondaries rather more rufescent on the base of the outer web, tail feathers brown, externally rufous brown; head blue-grey like the back, a little more hoary on the forehead; lores and eyelid white; ear-coverts and sides of face blue-grey, with a few whitish lines on the former; throat white, with a slight ashy tinge; remainder of under surface of body white, the sides of the breast ashy grey; sides of the body also washed with ashy grey; under tail-coverts white; thighs ashy; axillaries and under wing-coverts white, the edge of the wing blackish; quills dusky below, white along the edge of the inner web. Total length 3.7 inches, culmen 0.45, wing 2.2, tail 1.55, tarsus 0.55.

This is a very curious form, recalling the characters of several of the other *Muscicapulæ.* It may not be the fully adult of its species, but I believe it to be so. The reddish upper tail-coverts and tail remind one of the female of *M. maculata,* but the blue-grey upper surface distinguishes it at a glance. The female and young male of *M. superciliaris* have generally an ochreous tinge on the throat which distinguish them; but one specimen from Sikhim is white below like *M. westermanni,* while the upper surface is brown and the shade of blue which is seen on it (it is apparently a young male) is not slaty blue, but bright blue as in the adults.

*Tersiphone affinis* (Blyth.).
*Tersiphone affinis,* Oates, B. Brit. Burm., i., p. 261.
*Muscipeta affinis,* Hume, Str. F., 1879, p. 58.

"No. 118. ♂ ad. Batang Padang mountains, Perak.

"Irides dark brown; bill black; legs and feet same. This species occurs in Penang, Province Wellesley, and Batang Padang District of Perak, but in Larut it is replaced by a slightly larger and whiter species."

*Philentoma velatum* (Temm.).

*Philentoma velatum*, Oates, *t. c.*, p. 263; Hume, Str. F, 1879, p. 58.

"No. 128. ♂ ad. Batang Padang mountains, Perak.

"Irides crimson; bill black; feet and legs black."

*Philentoma pyrrhopterum* (Temm.).

*Philentoma pyrrhopterum,* Oates, *t. c.*, p. 264; Hume, Str. F., 1879, p. 58.

"No. 127. ♂ ad. Batang Padang mountains, Perak.

"Irides red; bill black."

Identical with male from other parts of the peninsula and from Tenasserim. I have re-examined the type of *P. intermedium* of Hume from Johor, and I cannot see how it differs from *P. pyrrhopterum.*

*Culicicapa ceylonensis* (Sw.).

*Culicicapa ceylonensis,* Sharpe, Cat. Birds Brit. Mus., iv, p. 369; Oates, *t. c.*, p. 274; Hume, Str. F., 1879, p. 59.

"No. 111. ♂ ad. Gunong Puteh (3,400 feet).

"Irides reddish brown; feet and legs warm brown; soles of feet red; bill black."

*Cryptolopha davisoni,* Sp. n.

"No. 96. ♂ ad. Gunong Ulu Batang Padang (4,200 feet).

"Irides dark brown; bill above brown, beneath yellow; legs and feet flesh-colour."

This is a Malayan representative of *C. montis* of Kina Balu, from which it differs in its larger size and intensified colouring, being dark grass-green instead of yellowish green, having all the rufus parts of the head chestnut instead of ferruginous, and in being much brighter yellow below. Total length 3.8 inches, culmen 0.4, wing 2.15, tail 1.55, tarsus 0.7.

*Cryptolopha trivirgata* (Strickl.).

*Cryptolopha trivirgata,* Sharpe, P. Z. S., 1887, p. 435; Salvad., *t. c.*, 204.

"No. 97. ♀ ad. Gunong Batu Puteh (4,300 feet).

"Irides dark brown."

*Stoparola thalassinoides* (Cab.).

*Stoparola thalassinoides,* Sharpe, Cat. B. Brit. Mus., iv, p. 432; Hume, Str. F., 1879, p. 59.

"No. 136. ♂ ad. Larut.

"Irides light brown."

A truly Malayan species, represented by the ordinary *S. melanops* in Tenasserim, to which province the present bird does not extend.

*Anthipes malayana,* Sharpe, *antea,* p. 247.

"No. 94. ♂ ad. Gunong Batu Puteh (4,300 feet).

"Irides dark brown; legs and feet white; bill nearly black. Lives apparently on the ground."

A young bird, mottled all over after the manner of Flycatchers, is sent by Mr. Wray from the same locality. "No. 98. Irides deep brown; legs and feet pale flesh-colour. Hops about among the undergrowth, searching for insects, making a nearly continual chirping." Although the Hume collection does not contain any young *Anthipes* for comparison, I think that the present specimen must belong to a species of that subgenus.

*Niltava grandis* (Hodgs.).

*Niltava grandis,* Sharpe, P. Z. S., 1886, p. 251.

"No. 11. ♀ ad. Batang Padang mountains, Perak."

*Niltava leucoprocta* (Tweed.).

*Niltava leucoprocta,* Oates, B. Brit. Burm., i, p. 298.

"No. 103. ♂ ad. Gunong Batu Puteh (3,400 feet).

"Irides light brown; bill black; legs and feet light grey; soles of feet flesh-colour."

I have compared the adult male now sent with others from Tenasserim, and find it to be identical. The extension of the range of the species is interesting.

## FAM.—PYCNONOTIDÆ.

*Criniger gutturalis* (Bp.).

*Criniger gutturalis,* Oates, *t. c.*, p. 185; Hume, Str. F., 1879, p. 61.

"Nos. 104, 105. ♂ ad. Gunong Batu Puteh (3,400 feet).

"Irides red-brown. A noisy harsh-voiced bird; flies in small parties, rather high up in the trees."

Mr. WRAY sends me one *Criniger* (No. 105), which, after much hesitation and careful comparison with the series of skins in the Hume collection, I have decided to be only the young of *C. gutturalis*. Its much lighter bill and rufous wings and tail, at first sight, make it look very different.

*Rubigula cyaniventris* (Blyth).

*Rubigula cyaniventris,* Oates, *t. c.*, p. 200.

*Ixidia cyaniventris,* Hume, Str. F., 1879, p. 63; Salvad., *t. c.*, p. 230.

"No. 131. ♀ ad. Larut.

"Irides light brown."

*Trachycomus ochrocephalus* (Gm.).

*Trachycomus ochrocephalus,* Oates, *t. c.*, p. 188; Hume, Str. F., 1879, p. 61; Salvad , *t. c.*, p. 218.

"No. 121. ♂ ad. Batang Patang mountains, Perak.

"Irides brown; bill black.

"This is the *Sibharoh* or *Upih Bidau* of the Malays. It is very plentiful among the bushes which fringe the river-banks, but it is so shy that is hardly ever seen, though its prolonged, loud, musical, and very involved song is one of the most noticeable river side sounds in the country."

## FAM.—TROLODYTIDÆ.

*Pnoëpyga pusilla* (Hodgs.).

*Pnoëpyga pusilla,* Hume and Davison, *t. c.*, p. 234; Salvad., *t. c.*, p. 226.

"No. 95. ♀ ad. Gunong Batu Puteh (4,300 feet).

"Irides dark brown; feet and legs pale brown; bill black, whitish beneath and at angle. Ground bird."

Identical with a specimen collected in Karennee by Captain Wardlaw Ramsay. It has also occurred on Mooleyit.

## Fam.—TIMELIIDÆ.

*Brachypteryx nipalensis* (Hodgs.).

*Brachypteryx nipalensis,* Hume and Davison, *t. c.*, p. 236; Oates, *t. c.*, p. 19.

"No. 89. ♂ ad. Gunong Batu Puteh (4,300 feet).

"Irides brown; bill black; feet and legs ash-colour. Lives on the ground in the forest."

An adult male, rather darker than the generality of Himalayan and Tenasserim specimens, though some of the latter equal it in intensity of colouring.

*Phyllergates cucullatus* (Temm.).

*Phyllergates cucullatus,* Sharpe, P. Z. S., 1887, p. 440.

"No. 112. ♀ ad. Gunong Batu Puteh (3,400 feet).

"Irides dark brown; bill black above, yellowish beneath; legs and feet pale-brown. Also met with on Gunong Ulu Batang Padang at about the same altitude."

*Gampsorhynchus saturatior,* Sp. n.

"No. 101. ♀ ad. Gunong Batu Puteh (3,400 feet).

"Irides bright yellow; legs and feet bluish ash with tintings of flesh-colour in places; claws flesh-colour; soles of feet dull yellow; bill pale flesh-colour, dusky on the ridge below the nostrils. The fold of skin in which the rictal bristles are inserted is very prominent, and evidently when alive the bird can move the bristles as a whole backwards and forwards with great freedom.

"Length 10½ inches, expanse 12 inches. The stomach contained one large hairy caterpillar and the partly digested remains of various insects, and the egg of one of the Phasmidæ.

"This bird gave me a great deal of trouble, for every night and early each morning a small party of them used to pass the camp, sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other. They made a loud shrill cry something like the cry of the

*Krekah* monkey, and flew quickly from tree to tree. Day after day we went out into the jungle to watch for them, but as there was no certainty which side of the camp they would take, and they always passed when it was so dark in the forest that neither they nor the sight of the gun could be distinguished, we were never successful, until nearly the last day of our stay at that camp, in shooting one. The strange thing was that we never saw these birds in the daytime. They passed up the hill to roost at night-fall and down again at dawn. Their note is so loud and distinctive, and they are so noisy, that they could not easily be overlooked or mistaken for any other bird.

"They are evidently rare, as only this one small party was seen."

This new species is very closely allied to *G. torquatus* (Hume) from Tenasserim, but is altogether of much darker colour, the upper surface being more rufous-brown. It is evidently a southern race of the Tenasserim form.

*Sibia simillima,* Salvad.

*Sibia simillima,* Sharpe, P. Z. S., 1886, p. 352.

*Heterophasia simillima,* Salvad., *t. c.*, p. 232.

"No. 13. ♂ ad. Batang Padang mountains, Perak."

*Pomatorhinus borneensis,* (Cab.).

*Pomatorhinus borneensis,* Sharpe, Cat. B. Brit. Mus., vii, p. 411; Hume, Str. F., 1879, p. 61.

"No. 100. ♂ ad. Gunong Batu Puteh (3,400 feet).

"Irides very light brown; bill white, with black on the top of the ridge, reaching about halfway to the point; legs and feet bluish ash; soles of feet yellowish brown.

"Only one pair of these birds were seen; they were in company with a number of other birds."

*Melanocichla peninsularis,* Sp. n.

"No. 84. ♂ ad. Gunong Batu Puteh (3,400 feet).

"Irides bluish grey; bare skin round eye and also the skin of the head and neck under the feathers dark purplish blue; bill bright reddish orange; legs grey, edges of the scales yellowish; feet same, but more yellow; soles of feet yellow. Stomach contained a quantity of reddish-coloured ants. It is a shy and uncommon bird, frequents dense jungle, in pairs or small parties of three or four, is noisy and harsh-voiced. I saw it also at nearly 5,000 feet on Gunong Ulu Batang Padang."

This species is an interesting representative of *M. lugubris* of Sumatra, but is slaty grey, instead of brown on blackish, both above and below.

Total length 10 inches, culmen 1.1, wing 4.8, tail 4.6, tarsus 1.45.

*Rhinocichla mitrata* (S. Müll.).
*Rhinocichla mitrata,* Sharpe, P. Z. S., 1886, p. 352.
*Leiothrix mitrata,* Salvad., *t. c.*, p. 230.
"No. 12. ♀ ad. Batang Padang mountains, Perak."

*Stachyris nigriceps* (Hodgs.).
*Stachyris nigriceps,* Sharpe, P. Z. S., 1887, p. 440.
"No. 84. ♀ ad. Gunong Batu Puteh and Gunong Ulu Batang Padang (4,000 to 5,000 feet).

"Irides light brown; bill black, greyish beneath; feet, legs and claws ash-colour, slightly tinted with green. Soles of feet light brown. Stomach contained insects. This birds is usually in company with other small birds."

*Stachyris nigricollis* (Temm.).
*Stachyris nigricollis,* Sharpe, Cat. B. Brit. Mus., vii, p. 535.
*Timelia nigricollis,* Hume, Str. F., 1879, p. 60.
"No. 125. ♂ ♀ ad. Batang Padang mountains, Perak."

"Irides red; bill above black, lower mandible pale straw-colour, tipped dusky."

*Turdinus sepiarius* (Horsf.).
*Turdinus sepiarius,* Sharpe, Cat. B. Brit. Mus., vii, p. 544.
"No. 132. ♀ ad. Kinta, Perak mountains.

"Apparently not to be separated from Javan and Bornean specimens. The flanks are perhaps a trifle more rufous-brown."

*Drymocataphus nigricapitatus* (Eyton.).

*Drymocataphus nigricapitatus,* Oates, *t. c.*, p. 63.

"No. 135. ♂ ad. Larut, Perak mountains.

"Irides red."

*Mixornis gularis* (Raffl.).

*Mixornis gularis,* Oates, *t. c.*, p. 51; Hume, Str. F., 1879, p. 60; Salvad., *t. c.*, p. 223.

"No. 134. Larut, Perak mountains.

"Irides dark brown."

*Macronus ptilosus,* J. & S.

*Macronus ptilosus,* Sharpe, Cat. B. Brit. Mus., vii, p. 583; Hume, Str. F., 1879, p. 60; Salvad., *t. c.*, p. 224.

"No. 124. ♂ ad. Batang Padang mountains, Perak.

"Irides dark brown; bill black; skin of head and neck and round eyes cobalt-blue."

*Herpornis xantholeuca* (Hodgs.).

*Herpornis xantholeuca,* Oates, *t. c.*, p. 151.

"No. 109. ♂ ad. Gunong Batu Puteh (3,400 feet).

"Irides dark brown; feet and legs flesh-colour, bill black above, fleshy beneath and at angle."

*Siva castaneicauda* (Hume).

*Siva castaneicauda,* Hume and Davison, Str. F., 1878, p. 371; Oates, *t. c.*, p. 145.

"No. 102. ♂ ad. Gunong Batu Puteh.

"Irides dark brown; feet and legs bluish-grey; bill brown, pale beneath. This bird seems to have the same habits as *Mesia argentauris.* I saw it on the summits of Gunong Batu Puteh and Gunong Brumbrin at between 6,000 and 7,000 feet altitude. The only other birds I noticed were *Æthopyga wrayi* (Sharpe) and a large light greyish-brown-coloured Eagle; but this latter was far out of range."

Identical with the types from Tenasserim in the Hume collection.

*Siva sordidior,* Sp. n.

*Siva sordida,* Sharpe, P. Z. S., 1887, p. 438 (nec Hume).

"No. 33. ♂ ad. Batang Padang mountains, Perak."

In my first paper I ventured to doubt the identity of a specimen sent by Mr. WRAY with *Siva sordida* of Hume from Tenasserim; but as that specimen was not adult, I refrained from describing it. Now that two more adult birds have been procured by Mr. WRAY, there is no longer any doubt that the Perak bird is distinct, differing in its still duller colouration, the absence of blue on the head, which is like the back, and also in the absence of the ochreous brown-colour of the lower back and rump. Total length 6 inches, culmen 0.55, wing 2.55, tail 2.6, tarsus 0.85.

*Mesia argentauris* (Hodgs.).
*Mesia argentauris,* Sharpe, P. Z. S., 1886, p. 352.
"No. 10. ♂ ad. Batang Padang mountains, Perak."

*Cutia cervinicrissa*, Sp. n.
"No. 85. ♂ ♀ ad. Gunong Batu Puteh.

"Irides light brown; legs and feet bright chrome-yellow; claws white; bill black above, grey beneath and at angle. It is a rare bird, and I did not see it lower than 4,000 feet. It frequents the higher trees, in small parties of three or four, and has a loud whistling double note, repeated several times in succession."

This is a race of *C. nipalensis,* a bird unknown in Tenasserim, from which the Perak form differs in its fulvescent under-surface, and twany-coloured lower abdomen and under tail-coverts. These characters, though slight, are well established when the pair sent by Mr. WRAY are compared with our large series in the British Museum, all of which are white below. The measurement are as follows:—

| | *Total length.* | *Culmen.* | *Wing.* | *Tail.* | *Tarsus.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ♂ ad. Perak (*Wray*) | 7.0 | 0.8 | 3.65 | 2.3 | 1.1. |
| ♀ ad. ,, ,, | 6.4 | 0.85 | 3.3 | 2.15 | 1.1. |

## FAM.—LANIIDÆ.

*Pterythrius æralatus* (Tickell).
*Pterythrius æralatus,* Sharpe, P. Z. S., 1887, p. 440.

"No. 34. ♀ ad. Batang Padang mountains, Perak."

Count SALVADORI has recently (Ann. Mus. Civic. Genov. (2) v, p. 600) expressed his non-concurrence in the views of Captain WARDLAW RAMSAY and myself that *Pterythrius cameranoi* of Sumatra is identical with *P. æralatus* of Tickell. The male of *P. cameranoi* is said by him to want the rosey tinge on the flanks, which is present in Tenasserim specimens, which are also larger; while the female of *P. cameranoi* differs from that of *P. æralatus* in the grey of the head being less pure, the back more olivaceous, and in the rufous colour of the under parts being brighter and more extened towards the throat. I therefore once more compared our series of these two birds in the British Museum, including the specimens in the Tweeddale collection. I agree with Count SALVADORI that the females are rather different, as described by him, and the female from Perak is grey-headed like the Tenasserim bird, but the male agrees with the Sumatran *P. cameranoi* better than with the true *P. æralatus*. There is a slight difference in the gloss of the head in the males from Tenasserim and Sumatra, the latter having a blue black gloss, and the Tenasserim birds being rather greenish black on the head. The Sumatra birds have decidedly more pink on the flanks.

## FAM.—PARIDÆ.

*Melanochlora sultanea* (Hodgs.).

*Melanochlora sultanea*, Hume and Davison, Str. F., 1878, p. 378; Oates, *t. c.*, p. 129; Hume, Str. F., 1879, p. 65.

"No. 90. ♂ ad. Gunong Batu Puteh.

"Irides brown; bill dark grey; feet and legs blue grey. This 'Sultan Tit' I have seen as high as 4,500 feet, both on the Larut Hills and also on the main mountain chain."

## FAM.—NECTARINIIDÆ.

*Æthopyga wrayi*.

*Æthopyga wrayi*, Sharpe, P. Z. S., 1887, p. 440.

"No. 108. ♀ ad. Gunong Batu Puteh (3,400 feet).

"Irides black; legs and feet brown; bill black, yellowish at angle."

Not distinguishable from the female of *Æ. sanguinipectus.*

## FAM.—DICÆIDÆ.

*Prionochilus ignicapillus* (Eyton).

*Prionochilus ignicapillus,* Sharpe, Cat. B. Brit. Mus., x, p. 65.

"No. 110. ♂ ad. Gunong Batu Puteh (3,400 feet).

"Irides brown; bill black above, yellow beneath with dusky tip; legs and feet nearly black."

A young bird, without any of the fine colouring of the adult, being almost entirely olive green.

Proc. Zool. Soc., 1888, No. xx.

## FAM.—MOFACILLIDÆ.

*Limonidromus indicus* (Gm.).

*Limonidromus indicus,* Oates, *t. c.*, p. 164; Hume, Str. F., 1879, p. 65.

"No. 133. ♀ ad. Larut, Perak mountains."

## FAM.—EURYLÆMIDÆ.

*Corydon sumatranus* (Raffl.).

*Corydon sumatranus,* Hume and Davison, *t. c.*, p. 97; Oates, *t. c.*, p. 430; Hume, Str. F., 1879, p. 50; Salvad., *t. c.*, p. 220.

"No. 92. ♀ ad. Gunong Batu Puteh (3,400 feet).

"Irides light brown; bill above reddish, on ridge lighter, white at tip, beneath pale flesh-colour; bare skin round eye flesh-red; feet and legs black; soles of feet light brown.

"Male has the bill black above tinted with red. The patch under the neck is also paler than in the female.

"The bird I send from the low country (No. 116) differs in several respects from the hill form, but possibly the differences are not sufficient to separate the two specially. Iris brown; bill fleshy red."

The difference in plumage noticed by Mr. WRAY consists principally in the darker colouration of one of the specimens, but it is not sufficient to separate them.

## FAM.—CAPRIMULGIDÆ.

*Lyncornis temmincki* (Gould).

*Lyncornis temmincki*, Hume, Str. F., 1879, p. 48; Salvad., *t. c.*, p. 195.

"No. 129. ♂ ad. Batang Padang mountains, Perak.

"Irides dark brown."

## FAM.—CYPSELIDÆ.

*Macropteryx comatus* (Temm.).

*Macropteryx comatus*, Hume and Davison, Str. F., 1878, p. 51; Salvad., *t. c.*, p. 196.

*Dendrochelidon comata*, Hume, Str. F., 1879, p. 47.

"No. 120. ♂ ♀ Batang Padang mountains, Perak."

"Irides dark brown. This bird sits on the upper branches of a tall tree and flies off, like a Flycatcher, after insect, returning again to its perch. I have seen it on the hills as high as 1,000 feet."

*Macropteryx longipennis* (Raffl.).

*Macropteryx longipennis*, Hume and Davison, *t. c.*, p. 52.

*Dendrochelidon longipennis*, Hume, Str. F., 1879, p. 47.

"No. 130. ♂ ad. Larut, Perak mountains.

"Irides dark brown."

## FAM.—PICIDÆ.

*Miglyptes tukki* (Less.).

*Myglyptes tukki*, Oates, *t. c.*, vol. ii, p. 61; Hume, Str. F., 1879, p. 52; Hargitt, Ibis, 1884, p. 193.

"No. 123. ♂ ad. Batang Padang mountains, Perak."

"Irides brown; bill black above, pale hony beneath."

*Lepocestes pyrrhotis* (Hodgs.).

*Venilia pyrrhotis*, Hume and Davison, Str. F., 1878, p. 142; Oates, *t. c.*, p. 39.

"No. 99. ♂ ad. Gunong.

"Irides warm light brown; bill pale yellow; feet and legs dull blackish brown. Seems to be rare, as I only saw this single specimen."

*Lepocestes porphyromelas* (Boil.).
*Lepocestes porphyromelas*, Salvad., *t. c.*, p. 181.
*Venilia porphyromelas*, Hume and Davison, *t. c.*, p. 143; Oates, *t. c.*, p. 40; Sharpe, P. Z. S., 1887, p. 443.
*Blythipicus porphyromelas,* Hume, Str. F., 1879, p. 52.
"No. 91. ♂ ad. Gunong Batu Puteh (3,400 feet).
"Irides red; bill bright yellow; feet and legs dark blackish brown."

*Gecinus puniceus* (Horsf.).
*Gecinus puniceus,* Hargitt, Ibis, 1888, p. 176.
*Chrysophlegma puniceus*, Oates, *t. c.*, p. 44.
*Collolophus puniceus,* Hume, Str. F., 1879, p. 52.
"No. 113. ♀ ad. Gunong Batu Puteh (3,400 feet).
"Irides red brown; bill black above, yellow beneath."

*Micropternus brachyurus* (V.).
*Micropternus brachyurus,* Oates, *t. c.*, p. 58; Hume, Str. F., 1879, p. 52; Hargitt, Ibis, 1888, p. 10.
"No. 122. ♂ ad. Batang Padang mountains, Perak.
"Irides dark brown; bill black."

*Sasia abnormis* (T.).
*Sasia abnormis*, Hume, Str. F., 1879, p. 53; Hargitt, Ibis, 1881, p. 235.
"No. 126. ♂ ad. Batang Padang mountains, Perak.
"Irides white, skin round eye fleshy red; bill above black, beneath yellow; legs and feet flesh-colour; claws pale yellow."

*Chrysophlegma wrayi,* Sp. n.
"No. 87. ♀ ad. Gunong Batu Puteh (from 3,400 to 4,000 feet).
"Irides red brown; feet and legs ash-colour; bill black above, grey beneath and at angle. The irides in one specimen were dark brown. No males were collected."

A very interesting race of *C. flavinucha* of Tenasserim, with a large series of which I have compared it. I showed the specimens to my friend Mr. HARGITT, and examined it together, so that I have the best possible confirmation of the distinctness of the species. It differs from *C. flavinucha* in having the feathers of the throat pure black, narrowly margined, except at the tip, with white, the black expanding about midway. The bill is black, yellowish at the angle of the lower mandible; the rufous bars on the wings are about equal in width to the black interspaces.

The size is considerably less, and the general colouration is darker, especially on the face, which is deep olive. Total length 10.5 inches, culmen 1.28, wing 5.6, tail 4, tarsus 0.93.

The immature female of *C. flavinucha*, which the Perak bird most resembles, has the feathers of the throat of an olive-black, edged with white, the black contracted above midway. The adult of the same species has the base of the feathers entirely white, the apex only being olive-black.

## FAM.—TROGONIDÆ.

*Harpactes erythrocephalus* (Gould).

*Harpactes erythrocephalus*, Oates, *t. c.*, p. 99.

*Harpactes hodgsoni*, Gould, Hume and Davison, *t. c.*, p. 66.

"No. 86. ♂ ♀ ad. Gunong Batu Puteh (3,400 feet).

"Irides light red; feet pale flesh-colour, with bluish-white bloom; bill cobalt-blue, black on ridge and at points; bare skin round eye purple. The female has the irides light brown, at least in the single specimen I met with. It keeps usually in the undergrowth and lower trees of the forest, and has the same habits as *Harpactes kasumba*."

Compared with Himalayan specimens, and apparently quite identical.

*Harpactes oreskius* (T.).

*Harpactes oreskius*, Oates, *t. c.*, p. 100.

"No. 114. ♂ ♀ ad. Gunong Batu Puteh (3,400 feet).

"Irides light brown, the female pale grey; bill black, shading into cobalt-blue at angle; legs and feet ash."

## FAM.—CAPITONIDÆ.

*Megalæma versicolor* (Raffl.).

*Megalæma vesicolor*, Hume, Str. F., 1879, p. 53.

"No. 119. ♀ ad. Batang Padang mountains, Perak.

"Irides dark brown, bill black.

"This is a rare bird, which I have only met with on two occasions, both times in heavy jungle."

*Calorhamphus hayii* (Gray).

*Calorhamphus hayii*, Oates, *t. c.*, p. 138; Hume, Str. F., 1879, p. 53.

"No. 106. ♂ ad. Gunong Batu Puteh (3,400 feet).

"Irides red-brown; legs and feet orange."

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# BRITISH BORNEO:
## SKETCHES OF
# BRUNAI, SARAWAK, LABUAN
## AND
# NORTH BORNEO.

*(Continued from Journal No. 20, p. 74.)*

## CHAPTER IV.

Having alluded to the circumstances under which the Government of Sarawak became vested in the BROOKE family, it may be of interest if I give a brief outline of the history of that State under its European rulers up to the present time. The territory acquired by Sir JAMES BROOKE in 1841 and known as Sarawak Proper, was a small district with a coast line of sixty miles and with an average depth inland of fifty miles—an area of three thousand square miles. Since that date, however, rivers and districts lying to the northward have been acquired by cessions for annual payments from the Brunai Government and have been incorporated with the original district of Sarawak, which has given its name to the enlarged territory, and the present area of Raja BROOKE'S possessions is stated to be about 40,000 square miles, supporting a population of 280,000 souls, and possessing a coast line of 380 miles. The most recent acquisition of territory was in 1884, so that the young State has shewn a very vigorous growth since its birth in 1841—at the rate of about 860 square miles a year, or an increase of thirteen times its original size in the space of forty-three years.

Now, alas, there are no "more lands to conquer," or acquire, unless the present kingdom of Brunai, or Borneo Proper, as it is styled by the old geographers, is altogether swallowed up by its offspring, which, under its white ruler, has developed a vitality never evinced under the rule of the Royal house of Brunai in its best days.*

The limit of Sarawak's coast line to the South-West is Cape, or *Tanjong*, Datu, on the other side of which commences the Dutch portion of Borneo, so that expansion in that direction is barred. To the North-East the boundary is Labuk Pulai the Eastern limit of the watershed, on the coast, of the important river Barram which was acquired by Raja BROOKE, in 1881, for an annual payment of £1,000. Beyond this commences what is left of the Brunai Sultanate, there being but one stream of any importance between the Barram river and that on which the capital—Brunai—is situated. But Sarawak does not rest here; it acquired, in 1884, from the then Pangeran Tumonggong, who is now Sultan, the Trusan, a river to the East of the Brunai, under somewhat exceptional circumstances. The natives of the river were in rebellion against the Brunai Government, and in November, 1884, a party of Sarawak Dyaks, who had been trading and collecting jungle produce in the neighbourhood of the capital, having been warned by their own Government to leave the country because of its disturbed condition, and having further been warned [redacted] also by the Sultan not to enter the Trusan, could not refrain from visiting that river on their homeward journey, in order to collect some outstanding trade debts. They were received is so friendly a manner, that their suspicions were not in the slightest degree aroused, and they took no precautions, believing themselves to be amongst friends. Suddenly in the night they were attacked while asleep in their boats, and the whole party, numbering about seventeen, massacred, with the exception of one man who, though wounded, managed to effect his escape and ultimately found his way to Labuan, where he was treated in the Government Hospital and made a recovery. The heads of the murdered men were, as is customary, taken by the murderers. No very distinct reason can be given for the attack, except that the Trusan people were in a "slaying" mood, being on the "war-path" and in arms against their own Government, and it has also been said that those particular Dyaks happened to be wearing trowsers instead of their ordinary *chawat*, or loin cloth, and, as their enemies, the Brunais, were trowser-wearers, the Trusan people thought fit to consider all natives wearing such extravagant clothing as their enemies. The Sarawak Government, on hearing of the incident, at once despatched Mr. MAXWELL, the Chief Resident, to demand redress. The Brunai Government, having no longer the warlike Kyans at their beck and call, that tribe having passed to Raja BROOKE with the river Barram, were wholly unable to undertake the punishment of the offenders. Mr. MAXWELL then demanded as compensation the sum of $22,000, basing his calculations on the amount which some time previously the British Government had exacted in the case of some British subjects who had been murdered in another river.

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* On the 17th March, 1890 the Limbang River was forcibly annexed by Sarawak, subject to the Queen's sanction.

This demand the bankrupt Government of Brunai was equally incompetent to comply with, and, thereupon, the matter was settled by the transfer of the river to Raja BROOKE in consideration of the large annual payment of $4,500, two years' rental—$9,000, being paid in advance, and Sarawak thus acquired, as much by good luck as through good management, a *pied à terre* in the very centre of the Brunai Sultanate and practically blocked the advance of their northern rivals—the Company—on the capital. This river was the *kouripan* (see *ante*, page 38 of Journal No. 20) of the present Sultan, and a feeling of pique which he then entertained against the Government of British North Borneo, on account of their refusing him a monetary loan to which he conceived he had a claim, caused him to make this cession with a better grace and more readily than might otherwise have been the case, for he was well aware that the British North Borneo Company viewed with some jealousy the extension of Sarawak territory in this direction, having, more than probably, themselves an ambition to carry their own southern boundary as near to Brunai as circumstances would admit. The same feeling on the part of the Tumonggong induced him to listen to Mr. MAXWELL'S proposals for the cession to Sarawak of a still more important river—the Limbang—one on which the existence of Brunai itself as an independent State may be said to depend. But the then reigning Sultan and the other Ministers of State refused their sanction, and the Tumonggong, since his accession to the throne, has also very decidedly changed his point of view, and is now in accord with the large majority of his Brunai subjects to whom such a cession would be most distasteful. It should be explained that the Limbang is an important sago-producing river, close to the capital and forming an actual portion of the Brunai river itself, with the waters of which it mingles; indeed, the Brunai river is probably the former mouth of the Limbang, and is itself but a salt-water inlet, producing nothing but fish and prawns. As the Brunais themselves put it, the Limbang is their *priuk nasi*, their rice pot, an expression which gains the greater force when it is remembered that rice is the chief food with this eastern people, in a more emphatic sense even than bread is with us. This question of the Limbang river will afford a good instance and specimen of the oppressive government, or want of government, on the part of the Brunai rulers, and I will return to it again, continuing now my short glance at Sarawak's progress. Raja BROOKE has had little difficulty in establishing his authority in the districts acquired from time to time, for not only were the people glad to be freed from the tyranny of the Brunai Rajas, but the fame of both the present Raja and of his famous uncle Sir JAMES had spread far and wide in Borneo, and, in addition, it was well known that the Sarawak Government had at its back its war-like Dyak tribes, who, now that "head-hunting" has been stopped amongst them, would have heartily welcomed the chance of a little legitimate fighting and "at the commandment of the Magistrate to wear weapons and serve in the wars," as the XXXVIIth Article of our Church permits. In the Trusan, the Sarawak flag was freely distributed and joyfully accepted, and in a short time the Brunai river was dotted with little roughly "dug-out" canoes, manned by repulsive-looking, naked, skin-diseased savages, each proudly flying an enormous Sarawak ensign, with its Christian symbol of the Cross, in the Muhammadan capital.

A fine was imposed and paid for the murder of the Sarawak Dyaks, and the heads delivered up to Mr. A. H. EVERETT, the Resident of the new district, who thus found his little launch on one occasion decorated in an unusual manner with these ghastly trophies, which were, I believe, forwarded to the sorrowing relatives at home.

In addition to these levies of warriors expert in jungle fighting, on which the Government can always count, the Raja has a small standing army known as the "Sarawak Rangers," recruited from excellent material—the natives of the country—under European Officers, armed with breech-loading rifles, and numbering two hundred and fifty or three hundred men. There is, in addition, a small Police Force, likewise composed of natives, as also are the crews of the small steamers and launches which form the Sarawak Navy. With the exception, therefore, of the European Officers, there is no foreign element in the military, naval and civil forces of the State, and the peace of the people is kept by the people themselves, a state of things which makes for the stability and popularity of the Government, besides enabling it to provide for the defence of the country and the preservation of internal order at a lower relative cost than probably any other Asiatic country the Government of which is in the hand of Europeans. Sir JAMES BROOKE did not marry, and died in 1868, having appointed as his successor the present Raja CHARLES JOHNSON, who has taken the name of BROOKE, and has proclaimed his eldest son, a youth of sixteen, heir apparent, with the title of Raja Muda. The form of Government is that of an absolute monarchy, but the Raja is assisted by a Supreme Council composed of two European officials and four natives nominated by himself. There is also a General Council of some fifty members, which is not usually convened more frequently than once in two or three years. For administrative purposes, the country is divided into Divisions, each under a European Resident with European and Native Assistants. The Resident administers justice, and is responsible for the collection of the Revenue and the preservation of order in the district, reporting direct to the Raja. Salaries are on an equitable scale, and the regulations for leave and pension on retirement are conceived in a liberal spirit.

There is no published Code of Laws, but the Raja, when the occasion arises, issues regulations and proclamations for the guidance of officials, who, in criminal cases, follow as much as possible the Indian Criminal Code. Much is left to the common sense of the Judicial Officers, native customs and religious prejudices receive due consideration, and there is a right of appeal to the Raja. Slavery was in full force when Sir JAMES BROOKE assumed the Government, all captives in the numerous tribal wars and piratical expeditions being kept or sold as slaves.

Means were taken to mitigate as much as possible the condition of the slaves, not, as a rule, a very hard one in these countries, and to gradually abolish the system altogether, which latter object was to be accomplished by 1888.

The principal item of revenue is the annual sum paid by the person who secures from the Government the sole right of importing, preparing for consumption, and retailing opium throughout the State. The holder of this monopoly is known as the "Opium Farmer," and the monopoly is termed the "Opium Farm." These expressions have occasionally given rise to the notion that the opium-producing poppy is cultivated locally under Government supervision, and I have seen it included among the list of Borneo products in a recent geographical work. It is evident that the system of farming out this monopoly has a tendency to limit the consumption of the drug, as, owing to the heavy rental paid to the Government, the retail price of the article to the consumer is very much enhanced.

Were the monopoly abolished, it would be impossible for the Government efficiently to check the contraband importation of so easily smuggled an article as prepared opium, or *chandu*, and by lowering the price the consumption would be increased.

The use of the drug is almost entirely confined to the Chinese portion of the population. A poll-tax, customs and excise duties, mining royalties and fines and fees make up the rest of the revenue, which in 1884 amounted to $237,752 and in 1885 to $315,264. The expenditure for the same years is given by Vice-Consul CADELL as $234,161 and $321,264, respectively. In the early days of Sarawak, it was a very serious problem to find the money to pay the expenses of a most economical Government. Sir JAMES BROOKE sunk all his own fortune—£30,000—in the country, and took so gloomy a view of the financial prospects of his kingdom that, on the refusal of England to annex it, he offered it first to France and then to Holland. Fortunately these offers were never carried into effect, and, with the assistance of the Borneo Company (not to be confused with the British North Borneo Company), who acquired the concession of the right to work the minerals in Sarawak, bad times were tided over, and, by patient perseverance, the finances of the State have been brought to their present satisfactory condition. What the amount of the national public debt is, I am not in a position to say, but, like all other countries aspiring to be civilized, it possesses a small one. The improvement in the financial position was undoubtedly chiefly due to the influx of Chinese, especially of gambier and pepper planters, who were attracted by liberal concessions of land and monetary assistance in the first instance from the Government. The present Raja has himself said that "without the Chinese we can do nothing," and we have only to turn to the British possession in the far East—the Straits Settlements, the Malay Peninsula, and Hongkong—to see that this is the case. For instance, the revenue of the Straits Settlements in 1887 was $3,847,475, of which the opium farm alone—that is a tax practically speaking borne by the Chinese population—contributed $1,779,600, or not very short of one half of the whole, and they of course contribute in many other ways as well. The frugal, patient, industrious, go-ahead, money-making Chinaman is undoubtedly the colonist for the sparsely inhabited islands of the Malay archipelago. Where, as in Java, there is a large native population and the struggle for existence has compelled the natives to adopt habits of industry, the presence of the Chinaman is not a necessity, but in a country like Borneo, where the inhabitants, from time immemorial, except during unusual periods of drought or epidemic sickness, have never found the problem of existence bear hard upon them, it is impossible to impress upon the natives that they ought to have "wants," whether they feel them or not, and that the pursuit of the dollar for the sake of mere possession is an ennobling object, differentiating the simple savage from the complicated product of the higher civilization. The Malay, in his ignorance, thinks that if he can obtain clothing suitable to the climate, a hut which adequately protects him from sun and rain, and a wife to be the mother of his children and the cooker of his meals, he should therewith rest content; but, then, no country made up of units possessed of this simple faith can ever come to anything—can ever be civilized, and hence the necessity for the Chinese immigrant in Eastern Colonies that want to shew an annual revenue advancing by leaps and bounds. The Chinaman, too, in addition to his valuable properties as a keen trader and a man of business, collecting from the natives the products of the country, which he passes on to the European merchant, from whom he obtains the European fabrics and American "notions" to barter with the natives, is also a good agriculturist, whether on a large or small scale; he is muscular and can endure both heat and cold, and so is, at any rate in the tropics, far and away a superior animal to the white labourer, whether for agricultural or mining work, as an artizan, or as a hewer of wood and drawer of water, as a cook, a housemaid or a washerwoman. He can learn any trade that a white man can teach him, from ship-building to watchmaking, and he does not drink and requires scarcely any holidays or Sundays, occasionally only a day to worship his ancestors.

It will be said that if he does not drink he smokes opium. Yes! he does, and this, as we have seen, is what makes him so beloved of the Colonial Chancellors of the Exchequer. At the same time he is, if strict justice and firmness are shewn him, wonderfully law-abiding and orderly. Faction fights, and serious ones no doubt, do occur between rival classes and rival secret societies, but to nothing like the extent that would be the case were they white men. It is not, I think, sufficiently borne in mind, that a very large proportion of the Chinese there are of the lower, I may say of the lowest, orders, many of them of the criminal class and the scourings of some of the large cities of China, who arrive at their destination in possession of nothing but a pair of trowsers and a jacket and, may be, an opium pipe; in addition to this they come from different provinces, between the inhabitants of which there has always been rivalry, and the languages of which are so entirely different that it is a usual thing to find Chinese of different provinces compelled to carry on their conversation in Malay or "pidgeon" English, and finally, as though the elements of danger were not already sufficient, they are pressed on their arrival to join rival secret societies, between which the utmost enmity and hatred exists. Taking all these things into consideration, I maintain that the Chinaman is a good and orderly citizen and that his good qualities, especially as a revenue-payer in the Far East, much more than counterbalance his bad ones. The secret societies, whose organization permeates Chinese society from the top to the bottom, are the worst feature in the social condition of the Chinese colonists, and in Sarawak a summary method of suppressing them has been adopted. The penalty for belonging to one of these societies is death. When Sir JAMES BROOKE took over Sarawak, there was a considerable Chinese population, settled for generations in the country and recruited from Dutch territory, where they had been subject to no supervision by the Government, whose hold over the country was merely nominal. They were principally gold diggers, and being accustomed to manage their own affairs and settle their disputes amongst themselves, they resented any interference from the new rulers, and, in 1857, a misunderstanding concerning the opium revenue having occurred, they suddenly rose in arms and seized the capital. It was some time before the Raja's forces could be collected and let loose upon them, when large numbers were killed and the majority of the survivors took refuge in Dutch territory.

The scheme for introducing Chinese pepper and gambier planters into Sarawak was set on foot in 1878 or 1879, and has proved a decided success, though, as Vice-Consul CADELL remarked in 1886, it is difficult to understand why even larger numbers have not availed themselves of the terms offered "since coolies have the protection of the Sarawak Government, which further grants them free passages from Singapore, whilst the climate is a healthy one, and there are no dangers to be feared from wild animals, tigers being unknown in Sarawak." The fact remains that, though there is plenty of available land, there is an insufficiency of Chinese labour still. The quantity of pepper exported in 1885 was 392 tons, valued at £19,067, and of gambier 1,370 tons, valued at £23,772.

Sarawak is said to supply more than half of the sago produce of the world. The value of the sago it exported in 1885 is returned at £35,953. Of the purely uncultivated jungle products that figure in the exports the principal are gutta-percha, India rubber, and rattans.

Both antimony ores and cinnabar (an ore of quicksilver) are worked by the Borneo Company, but the exports of the former ore and of quicksilver are steadily decreasing, and fresh deposits are being sought for. Only one deposit of cinnabar has so far been discovered, that was in 1867. Antimony was first discovered in Sarawak in 1824, and for a long time it was from this source that the principal supplies for Europe and America were obtained. The ores are found "generally as boulders deep in clayey soil, or perched on tower-like summits and craggy pinnacles and, sometimes, in dykes *in situ*." The ores, too poor for shipment, are reduced locally, and the *regulus* exported to London. Coal is abundant, but is not yet worked on any considerable scale.* The Borneo Company excepted, all the trade of the country is in the hands of Chinese and Natives, nor has the Government hitherto taken steps to attract European capital for planting, but expirements are being made with the public funds under European supervision in the planting of cinchona, coffee, and tobacco. The capital of Sarawak is *Kuching*, which in Malay signifies a "cat." It is situated about fifteen miles up the Sarawak river and, when Sir JAMES first arrived, was a wretched native town, with palm leaf huts and a population, including a few Chinese and Klings (natives of India), of some two thousand. Kuching now possesses a well built "Istana," or Palace of the Raja, a Fort, impregnable to natives, a substantial Gaol, Court House, Government Offices, Public Market and Church, and is the headquarters of the Bishop of Singapore and Sarawak, who is the head of the Protestant Mission in the country. There is a well built brick Chinese trading quarter, or "bazaar," the Europeans have comfortable bungalows, and the present population is said to number twelve thousand.

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* Since this was written, Raja Sir CHARLES BROOKE has acquired valuable coal concessions at Muara, at the mouth of the Brunai river, and the development of the coal resources of the State is being energetically pushed forward.

In the early days of his reign, Sir JAMES BROOKE was energetically assisted in his great work of suppressing piracy and rendering the seas and rivers safe for the passage of the peaceful trader, by the British men-of-war on the China Station, and was singularly fortunate in having an energetic co-adjutor in Captain (now Admiral) Sir HENRY KEPPEL, K.C.B.

It will give some idea of the extent to which piracy, then almost the sole occupation of the Illanun, Balinini, and Sea Dyak tribes, was indulged in that the "Headmoney," then paid by the British Government for pirates destroyed, amounted in these expeditions to the large total of £20,000, the awarding of which sum occasioned a great stir at the time and led to the abolition of this system of "payment by results." Mr. HUME took exception altogether to the action of Sir JAMES BROOKE, and, in 1851, charges were brought against him, and a Royal Commission appointed to take evidence on the spot, or rather at Singapore.

A man like BROOKE, of an enthusiastic, impulsive, unselfish and almost Quixotic disposition, who wore his heart on his sleeve and let his opinions of men and their actions be freely known, could not but have incurred the enmity of many meaner, self-seeking minds. The Commission, after hearing all that could be brought against him, found that there was nothing proved, but it was not deemed advisable that Sir JAMES should continue to act as the British representative in Borneo and as Governor of the Colony of Labuan, positions which were indeed incompatible with that of the independent ruler of Sarawak. Sarawak independence was first recognised by the Americans, and the British followed suit in 1863, when a Vice-Consulate was established there. The question of formally proclaiming a British Protectorate over Sarawak is now being considered, and it is to be hoped, will be carried into effect.* The *personel* of the Government is purely British, most of the merchants and traders are of British nationality, and the whole trade of the country finds its way to the British Colony of the Straits Settlements.

We can scarely let a country such as this, with its local and other resources, so close to Singapore and on the route to China, fall into the hands of any other European Power, and the only means of preventing such a catastrophe is by the proclamation of a Protectorate over it—a Protectorate which, so long as the successors of Raja BROOKE prove their competence to govern, should be worked so as to interfere as little as possible in the internal affairs of the State. The virulently hostile and ignorant criticisms to which Sir JAMES BROOKE was subjected in England, and the financial difficulties of this little kingdom, coupled with a serious dispute with a nephew whom he had appointed his successor, but whom he was compelled to depose, embittered the last years of his life. To the end he fought his foes in his old, plucky, honest, vigorous and straightforward style. He died in June, 1868, from a paralytic stroke, and was succeeded by his nephew, the present Raja. What Sir JAMES BROOKE might have accomplished had he not been hampered by an opposition based on ignorance and imperfect knowledge at home, we cannot say; what he did achieve, I have endeavoured briefly to sketch, and unprejudiced minds cannot but deem the founding of a prosperous State and the total extirpation of piracy, slavery and head-hunting, a monument worthy of a high, noble and unselfish nature.

In addition to that of the Church of England, there has, within the last few years, been established a Roman Catholic Mission, under the auspices of the St. Joseph's College, Mill Hill.

The Muhammadans, including all the true Malay inhabitants, do not make any concerted effort to disseminate the doctrines of their faith.

The following information relative to the Church of England Mission has been kindly furnished me by the Right

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* This has since been formally proclaimed.

Reverend Dr. HOSE, the present Bishop of "Singapore, Labuan and Sarawak," which is the official title of his extensive See which includes the Colony of the Straits Settlements—Penang, Province Wellesley, Malacca and Singapore—and its Dependencies, the Protected States of the Malay Peninsula, the State of Sarawak, the Crown Colony of Labuan, the Territories of the British North Borneo Company and the Congregation of English people scattered over Malaya.

The Mission was, in the first instance, set on foot by the efforts of Lady BURDETT-COUTTS and others in 1847, when Sir JAMES BROOKE was in England and his doings in the Far East had excited much interest and enthusiasm, and was specially organized under the name of the "Borneo Church Mission." The late Reverend T. MCDOUGALL, was the first Missionary, and subsequently became the first Bishop. His name was once well known, owing to a wrong construction put upon his action, on one occasion, in making use of fire arms when a vessel, on which he was aboard, came across a fleet of pirates. He was a gifted, practical and energetic man and had the interest of his Mission at heart, and, in addition to other qualifications, added the very useful one, in his position, of being a qualified medical man. Bishop MCDOUGALL was succeeded on his retirement by Bishop CHAMBERS, who had experience gained while a Missionary in the country. The present Bishop was appointed in 1881. The Mission was eventually taken over by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and this Society defrays, with unimportant exceptions, the whole cost of the See.

Dr. HOSE has under him in Sarawak eight men in holy orders, of whom six are Europeans, one Chinese and one Eurasian. The influence of the Missionaries has spread over the Skerang, Balau and Sibuyan tribes of *Sea*-Dyaks, and also among the *Land*-Dyaks near Kuching, the Capital, and among the Chinese of that town and the neighbouring pepper plantations.

There are now seven churches and twenty-five Mission chaples in Sarawak, and about 4,000 baptized Christians of the Church of England. The Mission also provides means of education and, through its press, publishes translations of the Bible, the Prayer Book and other religious and educational works, in Malay and in two Dyak dialects, which latter have only become written languages since the establishment of the Mission. In their Boys' School, at Kuching, over a hundred boys are under instruction by an English Master, assisted by a staff of Native Assistants; there is also a Girls' School, under a European Mistress, and schools at all the Mission Stations. The Government of Sarawak allows a small grant-in-aid to the schools and a salary of £200 a year to one of the Missionaries, who acts as Government Chaplain.

The Roman Catholic Mission commenced its works in Sarawak in 1881, and is under the direction of the Reverend Father JACKSON, Prefect Apostolic, who has also two or three Missionaries employed in British North Borneo. In Sarawak there are six or eight European priests and schoolmasters and a sisterhood of four or five nuns. In Kuching they have a Chapel and School and a station among the Land-Dyaks in the vicinity. They have recently established a station and erected a Chapel on the Kanowit River, an affluent of the Rejang. The Missionaries are mostly foreigners and, I believe, are under a vow to spend the remainder of their days in the East, without returning to Europe.

Their only reward is their consciousness of doing, or trying to do good, and any surplus of their meagre stipends which remains, after providing the barest necessaries of life, is refunded to the Society. I do not know what success is attending them in Sarawak, but in British North Borneo and Labuan, where they found that Father QUARTERON'S labours had left scarcely any impression, their efforts up to present have met with little success, and experiments in several rivers have had to be abandoned, owing to the utter carelessness of the Pagan natives as to matters relating to religion. When I left North Borneo in 1887, their only station which appeared to show a prospect of success was one under Father PUNDLEIDER, amongst the semi-Chinese of Bundu, to whom reference has been made on a previous page. But these people, while permitting their children to be educated and baptized by the

Father, did not think it worth their while to join the Church themselves.

Neither Mission has attempted to convert the Muhammadan tribes, and indeed it would, at present, be perfectly useless to do so and, from the Government point of view, impolitic and inadvisable as well.

## CHAPTER V.

I will now take a glance at the incident of the rebellion of the inhabitants of the Limbang, the important river near Brunai to which allusion has already been made, as from this one sample he will be able to judge of the ordinary state of affairs in districts near the Capital, since the establishment of Labuan as a Crown Colony and the conclusion of the treaty and the appointment of a British Consul-General in Brunai, and will also be able to attempt to imagine the oppression prevalent before those events took place. The river, being a fertile and well populated one and near Brunai, had been from old times the common purse of the numerous nobles who, either by inheritance, or in virtue of their official positions, as I have explained, owned as their followers the inhabitants of the various villages situated on its banks, and many were the devices employed to extort the uttermost farthing from the unfortunate people, who were quite incapable of offering any resistance because the warlike Kyan tribe was ever ready at hand to sweep down upon them at the behest of their Brunai oppressors. The system of *dagang sera* (forced trade) I have already explained. Some of the other devices I will now enumerate. *Chukei basoh batis*, or the tax of washing feet, a contribution, varying in amount at the sweet will of the imposer, levied when the lord of the village, or his chief agent, did it the honour of a visit. *Chukei bongkar-sauh*, or tax on weighing anchor, similarly levied when the lord took his departure and perhaps therefore, paid with more willingness. *Chukei tolongan*, or tax of assistance, levied when the lord had need of funds for some special purpose or on a special occasion such as a wedding—and these are numerous amongst polygamists—a birth, the building of a house or of a vessel. *Chop bibas,* literally a free seal; this was a permission granted by the Sultan to some noble and needy favourite to levy a contribution for his own use anywhere he thought he could most easily enforce it. The method of inventing imaginary crimes and delinquencies and punishing them with heavy fines has been already mentioned. Then there are import and export duties as to which no reasonable complaint can be made, but a real grievance and hindrance to legitimate trade was the effort which the Malays, supported by their rulers, made to prevent the interior tribes trading direct with the Chinese and other foreign traders—acting themselves as middlemen, so that but a very small share of profit fell to the aborigines. The lords, too, had the right of appointing as many *orang kayas,* or headmen, from among the natives as they chose, a present being expected on their elevation to that position and another on their death. In many rivers there was also an annual poll-tax, but this does not appear to have been collected in the Limbang. Sir SPENCER ST. JOHN, writing in 1856, gives, in his "Life in the Forests of the Far East," several instances of the grievous oppression practiced on the Limbang people. Amongst others he mentions how a native, in a fit of desperation, had killed an extortionate tax-gatherer. Instead of having the offender arrested and punished, the Sultan ordered his village to be attacked, when fifty persons were killed and an equal number of women and children were made prisoners and kept as slaves by His Highness. The immediate cause of the rebellion to which I am now referring was the extraordinary extortion practised by one of the principal Ministers of State. The revenues of his office were principally derived from the Limbang River and, as the Sultan was very old, he determined to make the best possible use of the short time remaining to him to extract all he could from his wretched feudatories. To aid him in his design, he obtained, with the assistance of the British North Borneo Company, a steam launch, and the Limbang people subsequently pointed out to me this launch and complained bitterly that it was with the money forced out of them that this means of oppressing them had been purchased. He then employed the most uncrupulous agents he could discover, imposed outrageous fines for trifling offences, and would even interfere if he heard of any private disputes among the villagers, adjudicate unasked in their cases, taking care always to inflict a heavy fine which went, not to the party aggrieved, but into his own pocket. If the fines could not be paid, and this was often the case, owing to their being purposely fixed at such a high rate, the delinquent's sago plantations—the principal wealth of the people in the Limbang River—would be confiscated and became the private property of the Minister, or of some of the members of his household. The patience of the people was at length exhausted, and they remembered that the Brunai nobles could no longer call in the Kayans to enforce their exactions, that tribe having become subjects to Raja BROOKE. About the month of August, 1884, two of the Minister's messengers, or tax collectors, who were engaged in the usual process of squeezing the people, were fired on and killed by the Bisayas, the principal pagan tribe in the river. The Tumonggong determined to punish this outrage in person and probably thought his august presence on the spot in a steam-launch, would quickly bring the natives to their knees and afford him a grand opportunity of replenishing his treasury.

He accordingly ascended the river with a considerable force in September, and great must have been his surprise when he found that his messenger, sent in advance to call the people to meet him, was fired on and killed. He could scarcely have believed the evidence of his own ears, however, when shortly afterwards his royal launch and little fleet were fired on from the river banks. For two days was this firing kept up, the Brunais having great difficulty in returning it, owing to the river being low and the banks steep and lined with large trees, behind which the natives took shelter, and, a few casualties having occurred on board and one of the Royal guns having burst, which was known as the *Amiral Muminin*, the Tumonggong deemed it expedient to retire and returned ignominiously to Brunai. The rebels, emboldened by the impunity they had so far enjoyed, were soon found to be hovering round the outskirts of the capital, and every now and then an outlying house would be attacked during the night and the headless corpses of its occupants be found on the morrow. There being no forts and no organized force to resist attack, the houses, moreover, being nearly all constructed of highly inflammable palm leaf thatch and matting, a universal panic prevailed amongst all classes, when the Limbang people announced their intention of firing the town. Considerable distress too prevailed, as the spirit of rebellion had spread to all the districts near the capital, and the Brunai people who had settled in them were compelled to flee for their lives, leaving their property in the hands of the insurgents, while the people of the city were unable to follow their usual avocations—trading, planting, sago washing and so forth, the Brunai River, as has been pointed out, producing nothing itself. British trade being thus affected by the continuance of such a state of affairs, and the British subjects in the city being in daily fear from the apprehended attack by the rebels, the English Consul-General did what he could to try and arrange matters. A certain Datu KLASSIE, one of the most influential of the Bisaya Chiefs, came into Brunai without any followers, but bringing with him, as a proof of the friendliness of his mission, his wife. Instead of utilizing the services of this Chief in opening communication with the natives, the Tumonggong, maddened by his ignominious defeat, seized both Datu KLASSIE and his wife and placed them in the public stocks, heavily ironed.

I was Acting Consul-General at the time, and my assistance in arranging matters had been requested by the Brunai Government, while the Bisayas also had expressed their warm desire to meet and consult with me if I would trust myself amongst them, and I at once arranged so to do; but, being well aware that my mission would be perfectly futile unless I was the bearer of terms from the Sultan and unless Datu KLASSIE and his wife were released, I refused to take any steps until these two points were conceded.

This was a bitter pill for the Brunai Rajas and especially for the Tumonggong, who, though perfectly aware that he was quite unable, not only to punish the rebels, but even to defend the city against their attacks, yet clung to the vain hope that the British Government might be induced to regard them as pirates and so interfere in accordance with the terms of the treaty, or that the Raja of Sarawak would construe some old agreement made with Sir JAMES BROOKE as necessitating his rendering armed assistance.

However, owing to the experience, tact, perseverance and intelligence of Inche MAHOMET, the Consular Agent, we gained our point after protracted negotiations, and obtained the seals of the Sultan, the Bandahara, the Di Gadong and the Tumonggong himself to a document, by which it was provided that, on condition of the Limbang people laying down their arms and allowing free intercourse with Brunai, all arbitrary taxation such as that which has been described should be for ever abolished, but that, in lieu therefor, a fixed poll-tax should be paid by all adult males, at the rate of $3 per annum by married men and $2 by bachelors; that on the death of an *orang kaya* the contribution to be paid to the feudal lord should be fixed at one pikul of brass gun, equal to about $21 ; that the possession of their sago plantations should be peaceably enjoyed by their owners ; that jungle products should be collected without tax, except in the case of gutta percha, on which a royalty of 5% *ad valorem* should be paid, instead of the 20% then exacted ; that the taxes should be collected by the headmen punctually and transmitted to Brunai, and that four Brunai tax-gatherers, who were mentioned by name and whose rapacious and criminal action had been instrumental in provoking the rebellion, should be forbidden ever again to enter the Limbang River ; that a free pardon should be granted to the rebels.

Accompanied by Inche MAHOMET and with some Bisaya interpreters, I proceeded up the Limbang River, on the 21st October, in a steam-launch, towing the boats of Pangeran ISTRI NAGARA and of the Datu AHAMAT, who were deputed to accompany us and represent the Brunai Government.

Several hundred of the natives assembled to meet us, and the Government conditions were read out and explained. It was evident that the people found it difficult to place much reliance in the promises of the Rajas, although the document was formally attested by the seals of the Sultan and of his three Ministers, and a duplicate had been prepared for them to keep in their custody for future reference. It was seen, too, that there were a number of Muhammadans in the crowd who appeared adverse to the acceptance of the terms offered, and, doubtless, many of them were acting at the instigation of the Tumonggong's party, who by no means relished so peaceful a solution of the difficulties their chief's action had brought about.

Whilst the conference was still going on and the various clauses of the *firman* were being debated, news arrived that the Rajas had, in the basest manner, let loose the Trusan Muruts on the district the day we had sailed for the Limbang, and that these wretches had murdered and carried off the heads of four women, two of whom were pregnant, and two young unmarried girls and of two men who were at work in their gardens.

This treacherous action was successful in breaking up the meeting, and was not far from causing the massacre of at any rate the Brunai portion of our party, and the Pangeran and the Datu quickly betook themselves to their boats and scuttled off to Brunai not waiting for the steam-launch.

But we determined not to be beaten by the Rajas' manœuvres, and so, though a letter reached me from the Sultan warning me of what had occurred and urging me to return to Brunai, we stuck to our posts, and ultimately were rewarded by the Bisayas returning and the majority of their principal chiefs signing, or rather marking the document embodying their new constitution, as it might be termed, in token of their acquiescence—a result which should be placed to the credit of the indefatigable Inche MAHOMET, whose services I am happy to say were specially recognised in a despatch from the Foreign Office. Returning to Brunai, I demanded the release of Datu KLASSIE, as had been agreed upon, but it was only after I had made use of very plain language to his messengers that the Tumonggong gave orders for his release and that of his wife, whom I had the pleasure of taking up the river and restoring to their friends.

H. M. *S. Pegasus* calling at Labuan soon afterwards, I seized the opportunity to request Captain BICKFORD to make a little demonstration in Brunai, which was not often visited by a man-of-war, with the double object of restoring confidence to the British subjects there and the traders generally and of exacting a public apology for the disgraceful conduct of the Government in allowing the Muruts to attack the Limbang people while we were up that river. Captain BICKFORD at once complied with my request, and, as the *Pegasus* drew too much water to cross the bar, the boats were manned and armed and towed up to the city by a steam-launch. It was rather a joke against me that the launch which towed up the little flotilla designed to overawe Brunai was sent for the occasion by one of the principal Ministers of the Sultan. It was placed at my disposal by the Pangeran Di Gadong, who was then a bitter enemy of the Tumonggong, and glad to witness his discomfiture. This was on the 3rd November, 1884.

With reference to the heads taken on the occasion mentioned above, I may add that the Muruts were allowed to retain them, and the disgusting sight was to be seen, at one of the watering places in the town, of these savages "cooking" and preparing the heads for keeping in their houses.

As the Brunai Government was weak and powerless, I am of opinion that the agreement with the Limbang people might have been easily worked had the British Government thought it worth while to insist upon its observance. As it was, hostilities did cease, the headmen came down and visited the old Sultan, and trade recommenced. In June, 1885, Sultan MUMIM died, at the age, according to Native statements, which are very unreliable on such points, of 114 years, and was succeeded by the Tumonggong, who was proclaimed Sultan on the 5th June of the same year, when I had the honour of being present at the ceremony, which was not of an imposing character. The new Sultan did not forget the mortifying treatment he had received at the hands of the Limbang people, and refused to receive their Chiefs. He retained, too, in his own hands the appointment of Tumonggong, and with it the rights of that office over the Limbang River, and it became the interest of many different parties to prevent the completion of the pacification of that district. The gentleman for whom I had been acting as Consul-General soon afterwards returned to his post. In May, 1887, Sir FREDERICK WELD, Governor of the Straits Settlements, was despatched to Brunai by Her Majesty's Government, on a special mission, to report on the affairs of the Brunai Sultanate and as to recent cessions of territory made, or in course of negotiation, to the British North Borneo Company and to Sarawak. His report has not been yet made public. There were at one time grave objections to allowing Raja BROOKE to extend his territory, as there was no guarantee that some one of his successors might not prefer a life of inglorious ease in England to the task of governing natives in the tropics, and sell his kingdom to the highest bidder—say France or Germany; but if the British Protectorate over Sarawak is formally proclaimed, there would appear to be no reasonable objection to the BROOKES establishing their Government in such other districts as the Sultan may see good of his own free will to cede, but it should be the duty of the British Government to see that their ally is fairly treated and that any cessions he may make are entirely voluntary and not brought about by coercion in any form—direct or indirect.

## CHAPTER VI.

The British Colony of Labuan was obtained by cession from the Sultan of Brunai and was in the shape of a *quid pro quo* for assistance in suppressing piracy in the neighbouring seas, which the Brunai Government was supposed to have at heart, but in all probability, the real reason of the willingness on the Sultan's part to cede it was his desire to obtain a powerful ally to assist him in reasserting his authority in many parts of the North and West portions of his dominions, where the allegiance of the people had been transferred to the Sultan of Sulu and to Illanun and Balinini piratical leaders. It was a similar reason which, in 1774, induced the Brunai Government to grant to the East India Company the monopoly of the trade in pepper, and is explained in Mr. JESSE'S letter to the Court of Directors as follows. He says that he found the reason of their unanimous inclination to cultivate the friendship and alliance of the Company was their desire for "protection from their piratical neighbours, the Sulus and Mindanaos, and others, who make continual depredations on their coast, by taking advantage of their natural timidity."

The first connection of the British with Labuan was on the occasion of their being expelled by the Sulus from Balambangan, in 1775, when they took temporary refuge on the island.

In 1844, Captain Sir EDWARD BELCHER visited Brunai to enquire into rumours of the detention of a European female in the country—rumours which proved to be unfounded. Sir JAMES BROOKE accompanied him, and on this occasion the Sultan, who had been terrified by a report that his capital was to be attacked by a British squadron of sixteen or seventeen vessels, addressed a document, in conjunction with Raja Muda HASSIM, to the Queen of England, requesting her aid "for the suppression of piracy and the encouragement and extension of trade; and to assist in forwarding these objects they are willing to cede, to the Queen of England, the Island of Labuan, and its islets on such terms as may hereafter be arranged by any person appointed by Her Majesty. The Sultan and the Raja Muda HASSIM consider that an English Settlement on Labuan will be of great service to the natives of the coast, and will draw a considerable trade from the northward, and from China; and should Her Majesty the Queen of England decide upon the measure, the Sultan and the Raja Muda HASSIM promise to afford every assistance to the English authorities." In February of the following year, the Sultan and Raja Muda HASSIM, in a letter accepting Sir JAMES BROOKE as Her Majesty's Agent in Borneo, without specially mentioning Labuan, expressed their adherence to their former declarations, conveyed through Sir EDWARD BELCHER, and asked for immediate assistance "to protect Borneo from the pirates of Marudu," a Bay situated at the northern extremity of Borneo—assistance which was rendered in the following August, when the village of Marudu was attacked and destroyed, though it is perhaps open to doubt whether the chief, OSMAN, quite deserved the punishment he received. On the 1st March of the same year (1845) the Sultan verbally asked Sir JAMES BROOKE whether and at what time the English proposed to take possession of Labuan. Then followed the episode already narrated of the murder by the Sultan of Raja Muda HASSIM and his family and the taking of Brunai by Admiral COCHRANE'S Squadron. In November, 1846, instructions were received in Singapore, from Lord PALMERSTON, to take possession of Labuan, and Captain RODNEY MUNDY was selected for this service. He arrived in Brunai in December, and gives an amusing account of how he proceeded to carry out his orders and obtain the *voluntary* cession of the island. As a preliminary, he sent "Lieutenant "LITTLE in charge of the boats of the *Iris* and *Wolf*, armed "with twenty marines, to the capital, with orders to moor "them in line of battle opposite the Sultan's palace, and to "await my arrival." On reaching the palace, Captain MUNDY produced a brief document, to which he requested the Sultan to affix his seal, and which provided for eternal friendship between the two countries, and for the cession of Labuan, in consideration of which the Queen engaged to use her best endeavours to suppress piracy and protect lawful commerce. The document of 1844 had stated that Labuan would be ceded "on such terms as may hereafter be arranged," and a promise to suppress piracy, the profits in which were shared by the Sultan and his nobles, was by no means regarded by them as a fair set off; it was a condition with which they would have readily dispensed. The Sultan ventured to remark that the present treaty was different to the previous one, and that a money payment was required in exchange for the cession of territory. Captain MUNDY replied that the former treaty had been broken when Her Majesty's Ships were fired on by the Brunai forts, and "at last I turned to the Sultan, and exclaimed firmly, 'Bobo chop bobo chop!' followed up by a few other Malay words, the tenor of which was, that I recommended His Majesty to put his seal forthwith." And he did so. Captain MUNDY hoisted the British Flag at Labuan on the 24th December, 1846, and there still exists at Labuan in the place where it was erected by the gallant Captain, a granite slab, with an inscription recording the fact of the formal taking possession of the island in Her Majesty's name.

In the following year, Sir JAMES BROOKE was appointed the first Governor of the new Colony, retaining his position as the British representative in Brunai, and being also the ruler of Sarawak, the independence of which was not formally recognised by the English Government until the year 1863. Sir JAMES was assisted at Labuan by a Lieutenant-Governor and staff of European Officers, who on their way through Singapore are said to have somewhat offended the susceptibilities of the Officials of that Settlement by pointing to the fact that they were Queen's Officers, whereas the Straits Settlements were at that time still under the Government of the East India Company. Sir JAMES BROOKE held the position of Governor until 1851, and the post has since been filled by such well-known administrators as Sir HUGH LOW, Sir JOHN POPE HENNESSY, Sir HENRY E. BULWER and Sir CHARLES LEES, but the expectations formed at its foundation have never been realized and the little Colony appears to be in a moribund condition, the Governorship having been left unfilled since 1881. On the 27th May, 1847, Sir JAMES BROOKE concluded the Treaty with the Sultan of Brunai which is still in force. Labuan is situated off the mouth of the Brunai River and has an area of thirty square miles. It was uninhabited when we took it, being only occasionally visited by fishermen. It was then covered, like all tropical countries, whether the soil is rich or poor, with dense forest, some of the trees being valuable as timber, but most of this has since been destroyed, partly by the successive coal companies, who required large quantities of timber for their mines, but chiefly by the destructive mode of cultivation practised by the Kadyans and other squatters from Borneo, who were allowed to destroy the forest for a crop or two of rice, the soil, except in the flooded plains, being not rich enough to carry more than one or two such harvests under such primitive methods of agriculture as only are known to the natives. The lands so cleared were deserted and were soon covered with a strong growth of fern and coarse useless *lalang* grass, difficult to eradicate, and it is well known that, when a tropical forest is once destroyed and the land left to itself, the new jungle which may in time spring up rarely contains any of the valuable timber trees which composed the original forest.

A few cargoes of timber were also exported by Chinese to Hongkong. Great hopes were entertained that the establishment of a European Government and a free port on an island lying alongside so rich a country as Borneo would result in its becoming an emporium and collecting station for the various products of, at any rate, the northern and western portions of this country and perhaps, too, of the Sulu Archipelago. Many causes prevented the realization of these hopes. In the first place, no successful efforts were made to restore good government on the mainland, and without a fairly good government and safety to life and property, trade could not be developed. Then again Labuan was overshaded by the prosperous Colony of Singapore, which is the universal emporium for all these islands, and, with the introduction of steamers, it was soon found that only the trade of the coast immediately opposite to Labuan could be depended upon, that of the rest' including Sarawak and the City of Brunai, going direct to Singapore, for which port Labuan became a subsidiary and unimportant collecting station. The Spanish authorities did what they could to prevent trade with the Sulu Islands, and, on the signing of the Protocol between that country and Great Britain and Germany freeing the trade from restrictions, Sulu produce has been carried by steamers direct to Singapore. Since 1881, the British North Borneo Company having opened ports to the North, the greater portion of the trade of their possessions likewise finds its way direct by steamers to the same port.

Labuan has never shipped cargoes direct to England, and its importance as a collecting station for Singapore is now diminishing, for the reasons above-mentioned.

Most or a large portion of the trade that now falls to its share comes from the southern portion of the British North Borneo Company's territories, from which it is distant, at the nearest point, only about six miles, and the most reasonable solution of the Labuan question would certainly appear to be the proclamation of a British Protectorate over North Borneo, to which, under proper guarantees, might be assigned the task of carrying on the government of Labuan, a task which it could easily and economically undertake, having a sufficiently well organised staff ready to hand.* By the Royal Charter it is already provided that the appointment of the Company's Governor in Borneo is subject to the sanction of Her Majesty's Secretary of State, and the two Officers hitherto selected have been Colonial servants, whose service have been *lent* by the Colonial Office to the Company.

The Census taken in 1881 gives the total population of Labuan as 5,995, but it has probably decreased considerably since that time. The number of Chinese supposed to be settled there is about 300 or 400—traders, shopkeepers, coolies and sago-washers; the preparation of sago flour from the raw sago, or *lamuntah*, brought in from the mainland by the natives, being the principal industry of the island and employing three or four factories, in which no machinery is used. All the traders are only agents of Singapore firms and are in a small way of business. There is no European firm, or shop, in the island. Coal of good quality for raising steam is plentiful, especially at the North end of the island, and very sanguine expectations of the successful working of these coal measures were for a long time entertained, but have hitherto not been realised. The Eastern Archipelago Company, with an ambitious title but too modest an exchequer, first attempted to open the mines soon after the British occupation, but failed, and has been succeeded by three others, all I believe Scotch, the last one stopping operations in 1878. The cause of failure seems to have been the same in each case—insufficient capital, local mismanagement, difficulty in obtaining labour. In a country with a rainfall of perhaps over 120 inches a year, water was naturally another difficulty in the deep workings. but this might have been very easily overcome had the Companies been in a position to purchase sufficiently powerful pumping engines.

There were three workable seams of coal, one of them, I think, twelve feet in thickness; the quality of the coal, though inferior to Welsh, was superior to Australian, and well reported on by the engineers of many steamers which had tried it; the vessels of the China squadron and the numerous steamers engaged in the Far East offered a ready market for the coal.

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* My suggestion has taken shape more quickly than I expected. In 1889 Labuan was put under the administration of the Company.

In their effort to make a "show," successive managers have pretty nearly exhausted the surface workings and so honeycombed the seams with their different systems of developing their resources, that it would be, perhaps, a difficult and expensive undertaking for even a substantial company to make much of them now.*

It is needless to add that the failure to develop this one internal resource of Labuan was a great blow to the Colony, and on the cessation of the last company's operations the revenue immediately declined, a large number of workmen—European, Chinese and Natives—being thrown out of employment, necessitating the closing of the shops in which they spent their wages. It was found that both Chinese and the Natives of Borneo proved capital miners under European supervision.

Notwithstanding the ill-luck that has attended it, the little Colony has not been a burden on the British tax-payer since the year 1860, but has managed to collect a revenue—chiefly from opium, tobacco, spirits, pawnbroking and fish "farms" and from land rents and land sales—sufficient to meet its small expenditure, at present about £4,000 a year. There have been no British troops quartered in this island since 1871, and the only armed force is the Native Constabulary, numbering, I think, a dozen rank and file. Very seldom are the inhabitants cheered by the welcome visit of a British gunboat. Still, all the formality of a British Crown Colony is kept up. The administrator is by his subjects styled "His Excellency" and the Members of the Legislative Council, Native and Europeans, are addressed as the "Honourable so and so." An Officer, as may be supposed, has to play many parts. The present Treasurer, for instance, is an ex-Lieutenant of

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* Since the above was written, a fifth company—the Central Borneo Company, Limited, of London—has taken in hand the Labuan coal and, finding plenty of coal to work on without sinking a shaft, confidently anticipate success. Their £1 shares recently went up to £4.

Her Majesty's Navy, and is at the same time Harbour Master, Postmaster, Coroner, Police Magistrate, likewise a Judge of the Supreme Court, Superintendent of Convicts, Surveyor-General, and Clerk to the Legislative Council, and occasionally has, I believe, to write official letters of reprimand or encouragement from himself in one capacity to himself in another.

The best thing about Labuan is, perhaps, the excellence of its fruit, notably of its pumeloes, oranges and mangoes, for which the Colony is indebted to the present Sir HUGH LOW, who was one of the first officials under Sir JAMES BROOKE, and a man who left no stone unturned in his efforts to promote the prosperity of the island. His name was known far and wide in Northern Borneo and in the Sulu Archipelago. As an instance, I was once proceeding up a river in the island of Basilan, to the North of Sulu, with Captain C. E. BUCKLE, R.N., in two boats of H. M. S. *Frolic*, when the natives, whom we could not see, opened fire on us from the banks. I at once jumped up and shouted out that we were Mr. LOW'S friends from Labuan, and in a very short time we were on friendly terms with the natives, who conducted us to their village. They had thought we might be Spaniards, and did not think it worth while to enquire before firing. The mention of the *Frolic* reminds me that on the termination of a somewhat lengthy cruise amongst the Sulu Islands, then nominally undergoing blockade by Spanish cruisers, we were returning to Labuan through the difficult and then only partially surveyed Malawalli Channel, and after dinner we were congratulating one another on having been so safely piloted through so many dangers, when before the words were out of our mouths, we felt a shock and found ourselves fast on an unmarked rock which has since had the honour of bearing the name of our good little vessel.

Besides Mr. LOW'S fruit garden, the only other European attempt at planting was made by my Cousin, Dr. TREACHER, Colonial Surgeon, who purchased an outlying island and opened a coco-nut plantation. I regret to say that in neither case, owing to the decline of the Colony, was the enterprise of the pioneers adequately rewarded.

Labuan* at one time boasted a Colonial Chaplain and gave its name to the Bishop's See; but in 1872 or 1873, the Church was "disestablished" and the few European Officials who formed the congregation were unable to support a Clergyman. There exists a pretty little wooden Church, and the same indefatigable officer, whom I have described as filling most of the Government appointments in the Colony, now acts as unpaid Chaplain, having been licensed thereto by the Bishop of Singapore and Sarawak, and reads the service and even preaches a sermon every Sunday to a congregation which rarely numbers half a dozen.

## CHAPTER VII.

The mode of acquisition of British North Borneo has been referred to in former pages; it was by cession for annual money payments to the Sultans of Brunai and of Sulu, who had conflicting claims to be the paramount power in the northern portion of Borneo. The actual fact was that neither of them exercised any real government or authority over by far the greater portion, the inhabitants of the coast on the various rivers following any Brunai, Illanun, Bajau, or Sulu Chief who had sufficient force of character to bring himself to the front. The pagan tribes of the interior owned allegiance to neither Sultan, and were left to govern themselves, the Muhammadan coast people considering them fair game for plunder and oppression whenever opportunity occurred, and using all their endeavours to prevent Chinese and other foreign traders from reaching them, acting themselves as middlemen, buying (bartering) at very cheap rates from the aborigines and selling for the best price they could obtain to the foreigner.

I believe I am right in saying that the idea of forming a Company, something after the manner of the East India Company, to take over and govern North Borneo, originated in the following manner. In 1865 Mr. MOSES, the unpaid Consul for the United Sates in Brunai, to whom reference has been made before, acquired with his friends from the Sultan of Brunai some concessions of territory with the right to govern and collect revenues, their idea being to introduce Chinese and establish a Colony. This they attempted to carry out on a small scale in the Kimanis River, on the West Coast, but not having sufficient capital the scheme collapsed, but the concession was retained. Mr. MOSES subsequently lost his life at sea, and a Colonel TORREY became the chief representative of the American syndicate. He was engaged in business in China, where he met Baron VON OVERBECK, a merchant of Hongkong and Austrian Consul-General, and interested him in the scheme. In 1875 the Baron visited Borneo in company with the Colonel, interviewed the Sultan of Brunai, and made enquiries as to the validity of the concessions, with apparently satisfactory results. Mr. ALFRED DENT * was also a China merchant well known in Shanghai, and he in turn was interested in the idea by Baron OVERBECK. Thinking there might be something in the scheme, he provided the required capital, chartered a steamer, the *America*, and authorised Baron OVERBECK to proceed to Brunai to endeavour, with Colonel TORREY'S assistance, to induce the Sultan and his Ministers to transfer the American cessions to himself and the Baron, or rather to cancel the previous ones and make out new ones in their favour and that of their heirs, associates, successors and assigns for so long as they should choose or desire to hold them. Baron VON OVERBECK was accompanied by Colonel TORREY and a staff of three Europeans, and, on settling some arrears due by the American Company, succeeded in accomplishing the objects of his mission, after protracted and tedious negotiations, and obtained a "chop" from the Sultan nominating and appointing him supreme ruler, "with the title of Maharaja of Sabah (North Borneo) and Raja of Gaya and Sandakan, with power of life and death over the inhabitants, with all the absolute rights of property vested in the Sultan over the soil of the country, and the right to dispose of the same, as well as of the rights over the productions of the country, whether mineral, vegetable, or animal, with the rights of making laws, coining money, creating an army and navy, levying customs rates on home and foreign trade and shipping, and other dues and taxes on the inhabitants as to him might seem good or expedient, together with all other powers and rights usually exercised by and belonging to sovereign rulers, and which the Sultan thereby delegated to him of his own free will; and the Sultan called upon all foreign nations, with whom he had formed friendly treaties and alliances, to acknowledge the said Maharaja as the Sultan himself in the said territories and to respect his authority therein; and in the case of the death or retirement from the said office of the said Maharaja, then his duly appointed successor in the office of Supreme Ruler and Governor-in-Chief of the Company's territories in Borneo should likewise succeed to the office and title of Maharaja of Sabah and Raja of Gaya and Sandakan, and all the powers above enumerated be vested in him." I am quoting from the preamble to the Royal Charter. Some explanation of the term "Sabah" as applied to the territory—a term which appears in the Prayer Book version of the 72nd Psalm, verse 10, "The kings of Arabia and Sabah shall bring gifts"—seems called for, but I regret to say I have not been able to obtain a satisfactory one from the Brunai people, who use it in connection only with a small portion of the West Coast of Borneo, North of the Brunai river. Perhaps the following note, which I take from Mr. W. E. MAXWELL'S "Manual of the Malay Language," may have some slight bearing on the point:—"Sawa, Jawa, Saba, Jaba, Zaba, etc., has evidently in all times been the capital local name in Indonesia. The whole archipelago was pressed into an island of that name by the Hindus and Romans. Even in the time of MARCO POLO we have only a Java Major and a Java Minor. The Bugis apply the name of Jawa, *Jawaka* (comp. the Polynesian *Sawaiki*, Ceramese *Sawai*) to the Moluccas. One of the principal divisions of Battaland in Sumatra is called *Tanah* Jawa. PTOLEMY has both Jaba and Saba."—"Logan, Journ. Ind. Arch., iv, 338." In the Brunai use of the term, there is always some idea of a Northerly direction; for instance, I have heard a Brunai man who was passing from the South to the Northern side of his river, say he was going *Saba*. When the Company's Government was first inaugurated, the territory was, in official documents, mentioned as Sabah, a name which is still current amongst the natives, to whom the now officially accepted designation of *North Borneo* is meaningless and difficult of pronunciation.

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* The administration of this little Crown Colony has since been entrusted to the British North Borneo Company, their present Governor, Mr. C. V. CREAGH, having been gazetted Governor of Labuan.

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* Now Sir ALFRRD DENT, K.C.M.G.

Having settled with the Brunai authorities, Baron VON OVERBECK next proceeded to Sulu, and found the Sultan driven out of his capital, Sugh or Jolo, by the Spaniards, with whom he was still at war, and residing at Maibun, in the principal island of the Sulu Archipelago. After brief negotiations, the Sultan made to Baron VON OVERBECK and Mr. ALFRED DENT a grant of his rights and powers over the territories and lands tributary to him on the mainland of the island of Borneo, from the Pandassan River on the North West Coast to the Sibuko River on the East, and further invested the Baron, or his duly appointed successor in the office of supreme ruler of the Company's territories in Borneo, with the high sounding titles of Datu Bandahara and Raja of Sandakan.

On a company being formed to work the concessions, Baron VON OVERBECK resigned these titles from the Brunai and Sulu Potentates and they have not since been made use of, and the Baron himself terminated his connection with the country.

The grant from the Sultan of Sulu bears date the 22nd January, 1878, and on the 22nd July of the same year he signed a treaty, or act of re-submission to Spain. The Spanish Government claimed that, by previous treaties with Sulu, the suzerainty of Spain over Sulu and its dependencies in Borneo had been recognised and that consequently the grant to Mr. DENT was void. The British Government did not, however, fall in with this view, and in the early part of 1879, being then Acting Consul-General in Borneo, I was despatched to Sulu and to different points in North Borneo to publish, on behalf of our Government, a protest against the claim of Spain to any portion of the country. In March, 1885, a protocol was signed by which, in return for the recognition by England and Germany of Spanish sovereignty throughout the Archipelago of Sulu, Spain renounced all claims of sovereignty over territories on the Continent of Borneo which had belonged to the Sultan of Sulu, including the islands of Balambangan, Banguey and Malawali, as well as all those comprised within a zone of three maritime leagues from the coast.

Holland also strenuously objected to the cessions and to their recognition, on the ground that the general tenor of the Treaty of London of 1824 shews that a mixed occupation by England and the Netherlands of any island in the Indian Archipelago ought to be avoided.

It is impossible to discover anything in the treaty which bears out this contention. Borneo itself is not mentioned by name in the document, and the following clauses are the only ones regulating the future establishment of new Settlements in the Eastern Seas by either Power:—"Article 6. It is agreed that orders shall be given by the two Governments to their Officers and Agents in the East not to form any new Settlements on any of the islands in the Eastern Seas, without previous authority from their respective Governments in Europe. Art. 12. His Britannic Majesty, however, engages, that no British Establishment shall be made on the Carimon islands or on the islands of Battam, Bintang, Lingin, or on any of the other islands South of the Straits of Singapore, nor any treaty concluded by British authority with the chiefs of those islands." Without doubt, if Holland in 1824 had been desirous of prohibiting any British Settlement in the island of Borneo, such prohibition would have been expressed in this treaty. True, perhaps half of this great island is situated South of the Straits of Singapore, but the island cannot therefore be correctly said to lie to the South of the Straits and, at any rate, such a business-like nation as the Dutch would have noticed a weak point here and have included Borneo in the list with Battam and the other islands enumerated. Such was the view taken by Mr. GLADSTONE'S Cabinet, and Lord GRANVILLE informed the Dutch Minister in 1882 that the XIIth Article of the Treaty could not be taken to apply to Borneo, and "that as a a matter of international right they would have no ground to object even to the absolute annexation of North Borneo by Great Britain," and, moreover, as pointed out by his Lordship, the British had already a settlement in Borneo, namely the island of Labuan, ceded by the Sultan of Brunai in 1845 and confirmed by him in the Treaty of 1847. The case of Raja BROOKE in Sarawak was also practically that of a British Settlement in Borneo.

Lord GRANVILLE closed the discussion by stating that the grant of the Charter does not in any way imply the assumption of sovereign rights in North Borneo, *i.e.*, on the part of the British Government.

There the matter rested, but now that the Government is proposing* to include British North Borneo, Brunai and Sarawak under a formal "British Protectorate," the Netherlands Government is again raising objections, which they must be perfectly aware are groundless. It will be noted that the Dutch do not lay any claim to North Borneo themselves, having always recognized it as pertaining, with the Sulu Archipelago, to the Spanish Crown. It is only to the presence of the British Government in North Borneo that any objection is raised. In a "Resolution" of the Minister of State, Governor-General of Netherlands India, dated 28th February, 1846, occurs the following:—"The parts of Borneo on which the Netherlands does not exercise any influence are:—

*a.* The States of the Sultan of Brunai or Borneo Proper;

* * * * *

*b.* The State of the Sultan of the Sulu Islands, having for boundaries on the West, the River Kimanis, the North and North-East Coasts as far as 3° N.L., where it is bounded by the River Atas, forming the extreme frontier towards the North with the State of Berow dependant on the Netherlands.

*c.* All the islands of the Northern Coasts of Borneo."

Knowing this, Mr. ALFRED DENT put the limit of his cession from Sulu at the Sibuku River, the South bank of which is in N. Lat. 4° 5′; but towards the end of 1879, that is, long after the date of the cession, the Dutch hoisted their flag at Batu Tinagat in N. Lat. 4° 19′, thereby claiming the Sibuko and other rivers ceded by the Sultan of Sulu to the British Company. The dispute is still under consideration by our Foreign Office, but in September, 1883, in order to practically assert the Company's claims, I, as their Governor, had a very pleasant trip in a very small steam launch and steaming at full speed past two Dutch gun-boats at anchor, landed at the South bank of the Sibuko, temporarily hoisted the North Borneo flag, fired a *feu-de-joie*, blazed a tree, and returning, exchanged visits with the Dutch gun-boats, and entertained the Dutch Controlleur at dinner. Having carefully given the Commander of one of the gun-boats the exact bearings of the blazed tree, he proceeded in hot haste to the spot, and, I believe, exterminated the said tree. The Dutch Government complained of our having violated Netherlands territory, and matters then resumed their usual course, the Dutch station at Batu Tinagat, or rather at the Tawas River, being maintained unto this day.

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* The Protectorate has since been proclaimed.

As is hereafter explained, the cession of coast line from the Sultan of Brunai was not a continuous one, there being breaks on the West Coast in the case of a few rivers which were not included. The annual tribute to be paid to the Sultan was fixed at $12,000, and to the Pangeran Tumonggong $3,000—extravagantly large sums when it is considered that His Highness' revenue per annum from the larger portion of the territory ceded was *nil*. In March, 1881, through negotiations conducted by Mr. A. H. EVERETT, these sums were reduced to more reasonable proportions, namely, $5,000 in the case of the Sultan, and $2,500 in that of the Tumonggong.

The intermediate rivers which were not included in the Sultan's cession belonged to Chiefs of the blood royal, and the Sultan was unwilling to order them to be ceded, but in 1883 Resident DAVIES procured the cession from one of these Chiefs of the Pangalat River for an annual payment of $300, and subsequently the Putalan River was acquired for $1,000 per annum, and the Kawang River and the Mantanani Islands for lump sums of $1,300 and $350 respectively. In 1884, after prolonged negotiations, I was also enabled to obtain the cession of an important Province on the West Coast, to the South of the original boundary, to which the name of Dent Province has been given, and which includes the Padas and Kalias Rivers, and in the same deed of cession were also included two rivers which had been excepted in the first grant—the Tawaran and the Bangawan. The annual tribute under this cession is $3,100. The principal rivers within the Company's boundaries still unleased are the Kwala Lama, Membakut, Inanam and Menkabong. For fiscal reasons, and for the better prevention of the smuggling of arms and ammunition for sale to head-hunting tribes, it is very desirable that the Government of these remaining independent rivers should be acquired by the Company.

On the completion of the negotiations with the two Sultans, Baron VON OVERBECK, who was shortly afterwards joined by Mr. DENT, hoisted his flag—the house flag of Mr. DENT'S firm—at Sandakan, on the East Coast, and at Tampassuk and Pappar on the West, leaving at each a European, with a few so-called Police to represent the new Government, agents from the Sultans of Sulu and Brunai accompanying him to notify to the people that the supreme power had been transferred to Europeans. The common people heard the announcement with their usual apathy, but the officer left in charge had a difficult part to play with the headmen who, in the absence of any strong central Government, had practically usurped the functions of Government in many of the rivers. These Chiefs feared, and with reason, that not only would their importance vanish, but that trade with the inland tribes would be thrown open to all, and slave dealing be put a stop to under the new regime. At Sandakan, the Sultan's former Governor refused to recognise the changed position of affairs, but he had a resolute man to deal with in Mr. W. B. PRYER, and before he could do much harm, he lost his life by the capsizing of his prahu while on a trading voyage.

At Tampassuk, Mr. PRETYMAN, the Resident, had a very uncomfortable post, being in the midst of lawless, cattle-lifting and slave-dealing Bajaus and Illanuns. He, with the able assistance of Mr. F. X. WITTI, an ex-Naval officer of the

Austrian Service, who subsequently lost his life while exploring in the interior, and by balancing one tribe against another, managed to retain his position without coming to blows, and, on his relinquishing the service a few months afterwards, the arduous task of representing the Government without the command of any force to back up his authority developed on Mr. WITTI. In the case of the Pappar River, the former Chief, Datu BAHAR, declined to relinquish his position, and assumed a very defiant attitude. I was at that time in the Labuan service, and I remember proceeding to Pappar in an English man-of-war, in consequence of the disquieting rumours which had reached us, and finding the Resident, Mr. A. H. EVERETT, on one side of the small river with his house strongly blockaded and guns mounted in all available positions, and the Datu on the other side of the stream, immediately opposite to him, similarly armed to the teeth. But not a shot was fired, and Datu BAHAR is now a peaceable subject of the Company.

The most difficult problem, however, which these officers had to solve was that of keeping order, or trying to do so, amongst a lawless people, with whom for years past might had been right, and who considered kidnapping and cattle-lifting the occupations of honourable and high spirited gentlemen. That they effected what they did, that they kept the new flag flying and prepared the way for the Government of the Company, reflects the highest credit upon their pluck and diplomatic ingenuity, for they had neither police nor steam launches, nor the prestige which would have attached to them had they been representatives of the British Government, and under the well known British flag. They commenced their work with none of the *éclat* which surrounded Sir JAMES BROOKE in Sarawak, where he found the people in successful rebellion against the Sultan of Brunai, and was himself recognised as an agent of the British Government, so powerful that he could get the Queen's ships to attack the head hunting pirates, killing such numbers of them that, as I have said, the Head money claimed and awarded by the British Government reached the sum of £20,000. On the other hand, it is but fair to add that the fame of Sir JAMES' exploits and the action taken by Her Majesty's vessels, on his advice, in North-West Borneo years before, had inspired the natives with a feeling of respect for Englishmen which must have been a powerful factor in favour of the newly appointed officers. The native tribes, too, inhabiting North Borneo were more sub-divided, less warlike, and less powerful than those of Sarawak.

The promoters of the scheme were fortunate in obtaining the services, for the time being, as their chief representative in the East of Mr. W. H. READ, C.M.G., an old friend of Sir JAMES BROOKE, and who, as a Member of the Legislative Council of Singapore, and Consul-General for the Netherlands, had acquired an intimate knowledge of the Malay character and of the resources, capabilities and needs of Malayan countries.

On his return to England, Mr. DENT found that, owing to the opposition of the Dutch and Spanish Governments, and to the time required for a full consideration of the subject by Her Majesty's Ministers, there would be a considerable delay before a Royal Charter could be issued, meanwhile, the expenditure of the embryo Government in Borneo was not inconsiderable, and it was determined to form a "Provisional Association" to carry on till a Chartered Company could be formed.

Mr. DENT found an able supporter in Sir RUTHERFORD ALCOCK, K.C.B., who energetically advocated the scheme from patriotic motives, recognising the strategic and commercial advantages of the splendid harbours of North Borneo and the probability of the country becoming in the near future a not unimportant outlet for English commerce, now so heavily weighted by prohibitive tariffs in Europe and America.

The British North Borneo Provisional Association Limited, was formed in 1881, with a capital of £300,000, the Directors being Sir RUTHERFORD ALCOCK, Mr. A. DENT, Mr. R. B. MARTIN, Admiral MAYNE, and Mr. W. H. READ. The Association acquired from the original lessees the grants and commissions from the Sultans, with the object of disposing of these territories, lands and property to a Company to be incorporated by Royal Charter. This Charter passed the Great

Seal on the 1st November, 1881, and constituted and incorporated the gentlemen above-mentioned as "The British North Borneo Company."

The Provisional Association was dissolved, and the Chartered Company started on its career in May, 1882. The nominal capital was two million pounds, in £20 shares, but the number of shares issued, including 4,500 fully paid ones representing £90,000 to the vendors, was only 33,030, equal to £660,600, but on 23,449 of these shares only £12 have so far been called up. The actual cash, therefore, which the Company has had to work with and to carry on the development of the country from the point at which the original concessionaires and the Provisional Association had left it, is, including some £1,000 received for shares forfeited, about £384,000, and they have a right of call for £187,592 more. The Charter gave official recognition to the concessions from the Native Princes, conferred extensive powers on the Company as a corporate body, provided for the just government of the natives and for the gradual abolition of slavery, and reserved to the Crown the right of disapproving of the person selected by the Company to be their Governor in the East, and of controlling the Company's dealings with any Foreign Power.

The Charter also authorised the Company to use a distinctive flag, indicating the British character of the undertaking, and the one adopted, following the example of the English Colonies, is the British flag, "defaced," as it is termed, with the Company's badge—a lion. I have little doubt that this selection of the British flag, in lieu of the one originally made use of, had a considerable effect in imbuing the natives with an idea of the stability and permanence of the Company's Government.

Mr. DENT'S house flag was unknown to them before and, on the West Coast, many thought that the Company's presence in the country might be only a brief one, like that of its predecessor, the American syndicate, and, consequently, were afraid to tender their allegiance, since, on the Company's withdrawal, they would be left to the tender mercies of their former Chiefs. But the British flag was well-known to those of them who were traders, and they had seen it flying for many a year in the Colony of Labuan and on board the vessels which had punished their piratical acts in former days.

Then, too, I was soon able to organise a Police Force mainly composed of Sikhs, and was provided with a couple of steam-launches. Owing doubtless to that and other causes, the refractory chiefs, soon after the Company's formation, appeared to recognize that the game of opposition to the new order of things was a hopeless one.

## CHAPTER VIII.

The area of the territory ceded by the original grants was estimated at 20,000 square miles, but the additions which have been already mentioned now bring it up to about 31,000 square miles, including adjacent islands, so that it is somewhat larger than Ceylon, which is credited with only 25,365 square miles. In range of latitude, in temperature and in rainfall, North Borneo presents many points of resemblance to Ceylon, and it was at first thought that it might be possible to attract to the new country some of the surplus capital, energy and aptitude for planting which had been the foundation of Ceylon's prosperity.

Even the expression "The New Ceylon" was employed as an alternative designation for the country, and a description of it under that title was published by the well known writer—Mr. JOSEPH HATTON.

These hopes have not so far been realized, but on the other hand North Borneo is rapidly becoming a second Sumatra, Dutchmen, Germans and some English having discovered the suitability of its soil and climate for producing tobacco of a quality fully equal to the famed Deli leaf of that island.

The coast line of the territory is about one thousand miles, and a glance at the map will shew that it is furnished with capital harbours, of which the principal are Gaya Bay on the West, Kudat in Marudu Bay on the North, and Sandakan Harbour on the East. There are several others, but at those enumerated the Company have opened their principal stations.

Of the three mentioned, the more striking is that of Sandakan, which is 15 miles in length, with a width varying from 1¼ miles, at its entrance, to 5 miles at the broadest part. It is here that the present capital is situated—Sandakan, a town containing a population of not more than 5,000 people, of whom perhaps thirty are Europeans and a thousand Chinese. For its age, Sandakan has suffered serious vicissitudes. It was founded by Mr. PRYER, in 1878, well up the bay, but was soon afterwards burnt to the ground. It was then transferred to its present position, nearer the mouth of the harbour, but in May, 1886, the whole of what was known as the "Old Town" was utterly consumed by fire; in about a couple of hours there being nothing left of the *atap*-built shops and houses but the charred piles and posts on which they had been raised above the ground. When a fire has once laid hold of an atap town, probably no exertions would much avail to check it; certainly our Chinese held this opinion, and it was impossible to get them to move hand or foot in assisting the Europeans and Police in their efforts to confine its ravages to as limited an area as possible. They entertain the idea that such futile efforts tend only to aggravate the evil spirits and increase their fury. The Hindu shopkeepers were successful in saving their quarter of the town by means of looking glasses, long prayers and chants. It is now forbidden to any one to erect atap houses in the town, except in one specified area to which such structures are confined. Most of the present houses are of plank, with tile, or corrugated iron roofs, and the majority of the shops are built over the sea, on substantial wooden piles, some of the principal "streets," including that to which the ambitious name of "The Praya" has been given, being similarly constructed on piles raised three or four feet above high water mark. The reason is that, owing to the steep hills at the back of the site, there is little available flat land for building on, and, moreover, the pushing Chinese trader always likes to get his shops as near as possible to the sea—the highway of the "prahus" which bring him the products of the neighbouring rivers and islands. In time, no doubt, the Sandakan hills will be used to reclaim more land from the sea, and the town will cease to be an amphibious one. In the East there are, from a sanitary point of view, some points of advantage in having a tide-way passing under the houses. I should add that Sandakan is a creation of the Company's and not a native town taken over by them. When Mr. PRYER first hoisted his flag, there was only one solitary Chinaman and no Europeans in the harbour, though at one time, during the Spanish blockade of Sulu, a Singapore firm had established a trading station, known as "Kampong German," using it as their head-quarters from which to run the blockade of Sulu, which they successfully did for some considerable time, to their no small gain and advantage. The success attending the Germans' venture excited the emulation of the Chinese traders of Labuan, who found their valuable Sulu trade cut off and, through the good offices of the Government of the Colony, they were enabled to charter the Sultan of Brunai's smart little yacht the *Sultana*, and engaging the services as Captain of an ex-member of the Labuan Legislative Council, they endeavoured to enact the roll of blockade runner. After a trip or two, however, the *Sultana* was taken by the Spaniards, snugly at anchor in a Sulu harbour, the Captain and Crew having time to make their escape. As she was not under the British flag, the poor Sultan could obtain no redress, although the blockade was not recognised as effective by the European Powers and English and German vessels, similarly seized, had been res tored to their owners. The *Sultana* proved a convenien despatch boat for the Spanish authories. The Sultan of Sulu to prove his friendship to the Labuan traders, had an unfortunate man cut to pieces with krisses, on the charge of having betrayed the vessel's position to the blockading cruisers.

Sandakan is one of the few places in Borneo which has been opened and settled without much fever and sickness ensuing, and this was due chiefly to the soil being poor and sandy and to there being an abundance of good, fresh, spring water. It may be stated, as a general rule, that the richer the soil the more deadly will be the fever the pioneers will have to encounter when the primeval jungle is first felled and the sun's rays admitted to the virgin soil.

Sandakan is the principal trading station in the Company's territory, but with Hongkong only 1,200 miles distant in one direction, Manila 600 miles in another, and Singapore 1,000 miles in a third, North Borneo can never become an emporium for the trade of the surrounding countries and islands, and the Court of Directors must rest content with developing their own local trade and pushing forward, by wise and encouraging regulations, the planting interest, which seems to have already taken firm root in the country and which will prove to be the foundation of its future prosperity. Gold and other minerals, including coal, are known to exist, but the mineralogical exploration of a country covered with forest and destitute of roads is a work requiring time, and we are not yet in a position to pronounce on North Borneo's expectations in regard to its mineral wealth.

The gold on the Segama River, on the East coast, has been several times reported on, and has been proved to exist in sufficient quantities to, at any rate, well repay the labours of Chinese gold diggers, but the district is difficult of access by water, and the Chinese are deferring operations on a large scale until the Government has constructed a road into the district. A European Company has obtained mineral concessions on the river, but has not yet decided on its mode of operation, and individual European diggers have tried their luck on the fields, hitherto without meeting with much success, owing to heavy rains, sickness and the difficulty of getting up stores. The Company will probably find that Chinese diggers will not only stand the climate better, but will be more easily governed, be satisfied with smaller returns, and contribute as much or more than the Europeans to the Government Treasury, by their consumption of opium, tobacco and other excisable articles, by fees for gold licenses, and so forth.

Another source of natural wealth lies in the virgin forest with which the greater portion of the country is clothed, down to the water's edge. Many of the trees are valuable as timber, especially the *Billian*, or Borneo iron-wood tree, which is impervious to the attacks of white-ants ashore and almost equally so to those of the *teredo navalis* afloat, and is wonderfully enduring of exposure to the tropical sun and the tropical downpours of rain. I do not remember having ever come across a bit of *billian* that showed signs of decay during a residence of seventeen years in the East. The wood is very heavy and sinks in water, so that, in order to be shipped, it has to be floated on rafts of soft wood, of which there is an abundance of excellent quality, of which one kind—the red *serayah*—is likely to come into demand by builders in England. Other of the woods, such as *mirabau*, *penagah* and *rengas*, have good grain and take a fine polish, causing them to be suitable for the manufacture of furniture. The large tree which yields the Camphor *barus* of commerce also affords good timber. It is a *Dryobalanops,* and is not to be confused with the *Cinnamomum camphora*, from which the ordinary "camphor" is obtained and the wood of which retains the camphor smell and is largely used by the Chinese in the manufacture of boxes, the scented wood keeping off ants and other insects which are a pest in the Far East. The Borneo camphor tree is found only in Borneo and Sumatra. The camphor which is collected for export, principally to China and India, by the natives, is found in a solid state in the trunk, but only in a small percentage of the trees, which are felled by the collectors. The price of this camphor *barus* as it is termed, is said to be nearly a hundred times as much as that of the ordinary camphor, and it is used by the Chinese and Indians principally for embalming purposes. Billian and other woods enumerated are all found near the coast and, generally, in convenient proximity to some stream, and so easily available for export. Sandakan harbour has some thirteen rivers and streams running into it, and, as the native population is very small, the jungle has been scarcely touched, and no better locality could, therefore, be desired by a timber merchant. Two European Timber Companies are now doing a good business there, and the Chinese also take their share of the trade. China affords a ready and large market for Borneo timber, being itself almost forestless, and for many years past it has received ironwood from Sarawak. Borneo timber has also been exported to the Straits Settlements, Australia and Mauritius, and I hear that an order has been given for England. Iron wood is only found in certain districts, notably in Sandakan Bay and on the East coast, being rarely met with on the West coast. I have seen a private letter from an officer in command of a British man-of-war who had some samples of it on board which came in very usefully when certain bearings of the screw shaft were giving out on a long voyage, and were found to last *three times* as long as lignum vitæ.

In process of time, as the country is opened up by roads and railways, doubtless many other valuable kinds of timber trees will be brought to light in the interior.

A notice of Borneo Forests would be incomplete without a reference to the mangroves, which are such a prominent feature of the country as one approaches it by sea, lining much of the coast and forming, for mile after mile, the actual banks of most of the rivers. Its thick, dark-green, never changing foliage helps to give the new comer that general impression of dull monotony in tropical scenery, which, perhaps, no one, except the professed botanist, whose trained and practical eye never misses the smallest detail, ever quite shakes off.

The wood of the mangrove forms most excellent firewood, and is often used by small steamers as an economical fuel in lieu of coal, and is exported to China in the timber ships. The bark is also a separate article of export, being used as a dye and for tanning, and is said to contain nearly 42% of *tannin.*

The value of the general exports from the territory is increasing every year, having been $145,444 in 1881 and $525,879 in 1888. With the exception of tobacco and pepper, the list is almost entirely made up of the natural raw products of the land and sea—such as bees-wax, camphor, damar, gutta percha, the sap of a large forest tree destroyed in the process of collection of gutta, India rubber, from a creeper likewise destroyed by the collectors, rattans, well known to every school boy, sago, timber, edible birds'-nests, seed-pearls, Mother-o'-pearl shells in small quantities, dried fish and dried sharks'-fins, trepang (sea-slug or bêche de mer), aga, or edible sea-weed, tobacco (both Native and European grown), pepper, and occasionally elephants' tusks—a list which shews the country to be a rich store house of natural productions, and one which will be added to, as the land is brought under cultivation with coffee, tea, sugar, cocoa, Manila hemp, pine apple fibre, and other tropical products for which the soil, and especially the rainfall, temperature and climatic conditions generally, including entire freedom from typhoons and earthquakes, eminently adapt it, and many of which have already been tried with success on an experimental scale. As regards pepper, it has been previously shewn that North Borneo was in former days an exporter of this spice. Sugar has been grown by the natives for their own consumption for many years, as also tapioca, rice and Indian corn. It is not my object to give a detailed list of the productions of the country, and I would refer any reader who is anxious to be further enlightened on these and kindred topics to the excellent "Hand-book of British North Borneo," prepared for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886, at which the new Colony was represented, and published by Messrs. WILLIAM CLOWES & SONS.

The edible birds'-nests are already a source of considerable revenue to the Government, who let out the collection of them for annual payments, and also levy an export duty as they leave the country for China, which is their only market. The nests are about the size of those of the ordinary swallow and are formed by innumerable hosts of swifts—*Collocalia fuciphaga*—entirely from a secretion of the glands of the throat. These swifts build in caves, some of which are of very large dimensions, and there are known to be some sixteen of them in different parts of British North Borneo. With only one exception, the caves occur in limestone rocks and, generally, at no great distance from the sea, though some have been discovered in the interior, on the banks of the Kinabatangan River. The exception above referred to is that of a small cave on a sand-stone island at the entrance of Sandakan harbour. The *Collocalia fuciphaga* appears to be pretty well distributed over the Malayan islands, but of these, Borneo and Java are the principal sources of supply. Nests are also exported from the Andaman Islands, and a revenue of £30,000 a year is said to be derived from the nests in the small islands in the inland sea of Tab Sab, inhabited by natives of Malay stock.

The finest caves, or rather series of caves, as yet known in the Company's territories are those of Gomanton, a limestone hill situated at the head of the Sapa Gaia, one of the streams running into Sandakan harbour.

These grand caves, which are one of the most interesting sights in the country, are, in fine weather, easily accessible from the town of Sandakan, by a water journey across the harbour and up the Sapa Gaia, of about twelve miles, and by a road from the point of debarkation to the entrance of the lower caves, about eight miles in length.

The height of the hill is estimated at 1,000 feet, and it contains two distinct series of caves. The first series is on the "ground floor" and is known as *Simud Hitam*, or "black entrance." The magnificent porch, 250 feet high and 100 broad, which gives admittance to this series, is on a level with the river bank, and, on entering, you find yourself in a spacious and lofty chamber well lighted from above by a large open space, through which can be seen the entrance to the upper set of caves, some 400 to 500 feet up the hill side. In this chamber is a large deposit of guano, formed principally by the myriads of bats inhabiting the caves in joint occupancy with the edible-nest-forming swifts. Passing through this first chamber and turning a little to the right you come to a porch leading into an extensive cave, which extends under the upper series. This cave is filled half way up to its roof, with an enormous deposit of guano, which has been estimated to be 40 to 50 feet in depth. How far the cave extends has not been ascertained, as its exploration, until some of the deposit is removed, would not be an easy task, for the explorer would be compelled to walk along on the top of the guano, which in some places is so soft that you sink in it almost up to your waist. My friend Mr. C. A. BAMPFYLDE, in whose company I first visited Gomanton, and who, as "Commissioner of Birds-nest Caves," drew up a very interesting report on them, informed me that, though he had found it impossible to explore right to the end, he had been a long way in and was confident that the cave was of very large size. To reach the upper series of caves, you leave Simud Hitam and clamber up the hill side—a steep but not difficult climb, as the jagged limestone affords sure footing. The entrance to this series, known as *Simud Putih*, or "white entrance," is estimated to be at an elevation of 300 feet above sea level, and the porch by which you enter them is about 30 feet high by about 50 wide. The floor slopes steeply downwards and brings you into an enormous cave, with smaller ones leading off it, all known to the nest collectors by their different native names. You soon come to a large black hole, which has never been explored, but which is said to communicate with the large guano cave below, which has been already described. Passing on, you enter a dome-like cave, the height of the roof or ceiling of which has been estimated at 800 feet, but for the accuracy of this guess I cannot vouch. The average height of the cave before the domed portion is reached is supposed to be about 150 feet, and Mr. BAMPFYLDE estimates the total length, from the entrance to the furthest point, at a fifth of a mile. The Simud Putih series are badly lighted, there being only a few "holes" in the roof of the dome, so that torches or lights of some kind are required. There are large deposits of guano in these caves also, which could be easily worked by lowering quantities down into the Simud Hitam caves below, the floor of which, as already stated, is on a level with the river bank, so that a tramway could be laid right into them and the guano be carried down to the port of shipment, at the mouth of the Sapa Gaia River. Samples of the guano have been sent home, and have been analysed by Messrs. VOELCKER & CO. It is rich in ammonia and nitrogen and has been valued at £5 to £7 a ton in England. The bat-guano is said to be richer as a manure than that derived from the swifts. To ascend to the top of Gomanton, one has to emerge from the Simud Putih entrance and, by means of a ladder, reach an overhanging ledge, whence a not very difficult climb brings one to the cleared summit, from which a fine view of the surrounding country is obtained, including Kina-balu, the sacred mountain of North Borneo. On this summit will be found the holes already described as helping to somewhat lighten the darkness of the dome-shaped cave, on the roof of which we are in fact now standing. It is through these holes that the natives lower themselves into the caves, by means of rattan ladders and, in a most marvellous manner, gain a footing on the ceiling and construct cane stages, by means of which they can reach any part of the roof and, either by hand or by a suitable pole to the end of which is attached a lighted candle, secure the wealth-giving luxury for the epicures of China. There are two principal seasons for collecting the nests, and care has to be taken that the collection is made punctually at the proper time, before the eggs are all hatched, otherwise the nests become dirty and fouled with feathers, &c., and discoloured and injured by the damp, thereby losing much of their market value. Again, if the nests are not collected for a season, the birds do not build many new ones in the following season, but make use of the old ones, which thereby become comparatively valueless.

There are, roughly speaking, three qualities of nests, sufficiently described by their names—white, red, and black—the best quality of each fetching, at Sandakan, per catty of 1⅓ lbs., $16, $7 and 8 cents respectively.

The question as to the true cause of the difference in the nests has not yet been satisfactorily solved. Some allege that the red and black nests are simply white ones deteriorated by not having been collected in due season. I myself incline to agree with the natives that the nests are formed by different birds, for the fact that, in one set of caves, black nests are always found together in one part, and white ones in another, though both are collected with equal care and punctuality, seems almost inexplicable under the first theory. It is true that the different kinds of nests are not found in the same season, and it is just possible that the red and black nests may be the second efforts at building made by the swifts after the collectors have disturbed them by gathering their first, white ones. In the inferior nests, feathers are found *mixed up* with the gelatinous matter forming the walls, as though the glands were unable to secrete a sufficient quantity of material, and the bird had to eke it out with its own feathers. In the substance of the white nests no feathers are found.

Then, again, it is sometimes found in the case of two distinct caves, situated at no great distance apart, that the one yields almost entirely white nests, and the other nearly all red, or black ones, though the collections are made with equal regularity in each. The natives, as I have said, seem to think that there are two kinds of birds, and the Hon. R. ABER-

CROMBY reports that, when he visited Gomanton, they shewed him eggs of different size and explained that one was laid by the white-nest bird and the other by the black-nest builder. Sir HUGH LOW, in his work on Sarawak, published in 1848, asserts that there are "two different and quite dissimilar kinds of birds, though both are swallows" (he should have said swifts), and that the one which produces the white nest is larger and of more lively colours, with a white belly, and is found on the sea-coast, while the other is smaller and darker and found more in the interior. He admits, however, that though he had opportunities of observing the former, he had not been able to procure a specimen.

The question is one which should be easily settled on the spot, and I recommend it to the consideration of the authorities of the British North Borneo Museum, which has been established at Sandakan.

The annual value of the nests of Gomanton, when properly collected, has been reckoned at $23,000, but I consider this an excessive estimate. My friend Mr. A. COOK, the Treasurer of the Territory, to whose zeal and perseverance the Company owes much, has arranged with the Buludupih tribe to collect these nests on payment to the Government of a royalty of $7,500 per annum, which is in addition to the export duty at the rate of 10% *ad valorem* paid by the Chinese exporters.

The swifts and bats—the latter about the size of the ordinary English bat—avail themselves of the shelter afforded by the caves without incommoding one another, for, by a sort of Box and Cox arrangement, the former occupy the caves during the night and the latter by day.

Standing at the Simud Putih entrance about 5 P. M., the visitor will suddenly hear a whirring sound from below, which is caused by the myriads of bats issuing, for their nocturnal banquet, from the Simud Itam caves, through the wide open space that has been described. They come out in a regularly ascending continuous spiral or corkscrew coil, revolving from left to right in a very rapid and regular manner. When the top of the spiral coil reaches a certain height, a colony of bats breaks off, and continuing to revolve in a well kept ring from left to right gradually ascends higher and higher, until all of a sudden the whole detachment dashes off in the direction of the sea, towards the mangrove swamps and the *nipas*. Sometimes these detached colonies reverse the direction of their revolutions after leaving the main body, and, instead of from left to right, revolve from right to left. Some of them continue for a long time revolving in a circle, and attain a great height before darting off in quest of food, while others make up their minds more expeditiously, after a few revolutions. Amongst the bats, three white ones were, on the occasion of my visit, very conspicuous, and our followers styled them the Raja, his wife and child. Hawks and sea-eagles are quickly attracted to the spot, but only hover on the outskirts of the revolving coil, occasionally snapping up a prize. I also noticed several hornbills, but they appeared to have been only attracted by curiosity. Mr. BAMPFYLDE informed me that, on a previous visit, he had seen a large green snake settled on an overhanging branch near which the bats passed and that occasionally he managed to secure a victim. I timed the bats and found that they took almost exactly fifty minutes to come out of the caves, a thick stream of them issuing all that time and at a great pace, and the reader can endeavour to form for himself some idea of their vast numbers. They had all got out by ten minutes to six in the evening, and at about six o'clock the swifts began to come home to roost. They came in in detached, independent parties, and I found it impossible to time them, as some of them kept very late hours. I slept in the Simud Putih cave on this occasion, and foundt hat next morning the bats returned about 5 A.M., and that he swifts went out an hour afterwards.

As shewing the mode of formation of these caves, I may add that I noticed, imbedded in a boulder of rock in the upper caves, two pieces of coral and several fossil marine shells, bivalves and others.

The noise made by the bats going out for their evening promenade resembled a combination of that of the surf breaking on a distant shore and of steam being gently blown off from a vessel which has just come to anchor.

There are other interesting series of caves, and one—that of Madai, in Darvel Bay on the East coast—was visited by the late Lady BRASSEY and Miss BRASSEY in April, 1887, when British North Borneo was honoured by a visit of the celebrated yacht the *Sunbeam*, with Lord BRASSEY and his family on board.

I accompanied the party on the trip to Madai, and shall not easily forget the pluck and energy with which Lady BRASSEY, then in bad health, surmounted the difficulties of the jungle track, and insisted upon seeing all that was to be seen; or the gallant style in which Miss BRASSEY unwearied after her long tramp through the forest, led the way over the slippery boulders in the dark caves.

The Chinese ascribe great strengthening powers to the soup made of the birds'-nests, which they boil down into a syrup with barley sugar, and sip out of tea cups. The gelatinous looking material of which the substance of the nests is composed is in itself almost flavourless.

It is also with the object of increasing their bodily powers that these epicures consume the uninviting sea-slug or bêche-de-mer, and dried sharks'-fins and cuttle fish.

To conclude my brief sketch of Sandakan Harbour and of the Capital, it should be stated that, in addition to being within easy distance of Hongkong, it lies but little off the usual route of vessels proceeding from China to Australian ports, and can be reached by half a day's deviation of the ordinary track.

Should, unfortunately, war arise with Russia, there is little doubt their East Asiatic squadron would endeavour both to harass the Australian trade and to damage, as much as possible, the coast towns, in which case the advantages of Sandakan, midway between China and Australia, as a base of operations for the British protecting fleet would at once become manifest. It is somewhat unfortunate that a bar has formed just outside the entrance of the harbour, with a depth of water of four fathoms at low water, spring tides, so that ironclads of the largest size would be denied admittance.

There are at present, no steamers sailing direct from Borneo to England, and nearly all the commerce from British North Borneo ports is carried by local steamers to that great emporium of the trade of the Malayan countries, Singapore, distant from Sandakan a thousand miles, and it is a curious fact, that though many of the exports are ultimately intended for the China market, *e.g.*, edible birds'-nests, the Chinese traders find it pays them better to send their produce to Singapore in the first instance, instead of direct to Hongkong. This is partly accounted for by the further fact that, though the Government has spent considerable sum in endeavouring to attract Chinamen from China, the large proportion of our Chinese traders and of the Chinese population generally has come to us *viâ* Singapore, after as it were having undergone there an education in the knowledge of Malayan affairs.

As further illustrating the commercial and strategical advantages of the harbours of British North Borneo, it should be noted that the course recommended by the Admiralty instructions for vessels proceeding to China from the Straits, *viâ* the Palawan passage, brings them within ninety miles of the harbours of the West Coast.

As to postal matters, British North Borneo, though not in the Postal Union, has entered into arrangements for the exchange of direct closed mails with the English Post Office, London, with which latter also, as well as with Singapore and India, a system of Parcel Post and of Post Office Orders has been established.

The postal and inland revenue stamps, distinguished by the lion, which has been adopted as the Company's badge, are well executed and in considerable demand with stamp collectors, owing to their rarity.

The Government also issues its own copper coinage, one cent and half-cent pieces, manufactured in Birmingham and of the same intrinsic value as those of Hongkong and the Straits Settlements.

The revenue derived from its issue is an important item to the Colony's finances, and considerable quantities have been put ino circulation, not only within the limits of the Company's territory, but also in Brunai and in the British Colony of Labuan, where it has been proclaimed a legal tender on the condition of the Company, in return for the profit which they reap by its issue in the island, contributing to the impoverished Colonial Treasury the yearly sum of $3,000.

Trade, however, is still, to a great extent, carried on by a system of barter with the Natives. The primitive currency medium in vogue under the native regime has been described in the Chapters on Brunai.

The silver currency is the Mexican and Spanish Dollar and the Japanese Yen, supplemented by the small silver coinage of the Straits Settlements. The Company has not yet minted any silver coinage, as the profit thereon is small, but in the absence of a bank, the Treasury, for the convenience of traders and planters, carries on banking business to a certain extent, and issues bank notes of the values of $1, $5 and $25, cash reserves equal to one-third of the value of the notes in circulation being maintained.*

Sir ALFRED DENT is taking steps to form a Banking Company at Sandakan, the establishment of which would materially assist in the development of the resources of the territory.

British North Borneo is not in telegraphic communication with any part of the world, except of course through Singapore, nor are there any local telegraphs. The question, however, of supplementing the existing cable between the Straits Settlements and China by another touching at British territory in Borneo has more than once been mooted, and may yet become a *fait accompli*. The Spanish Government appear to have decided to unite Sulu by telegraphic communication with the rest of the world, *viâ* Manila, and this will bring Sandakan within 180 miles of the telegraphic station.

## CHAPTER IX.

In the eyes of the European planter, British North Borneo is chiefly interesting as a field for the cultivation of tobacco, in rivalry to Sumatra, and my readers may judge of the importance of this question from a glance at the following figures, which shew the dividends declared of late years by three of the principal Tobacco Planting Companies in the latter island :—

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* Agencies of Singapore Banks have since been established at Sandakan.

| In | Dividends paid by | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | The Deli Maatschappi. | The Tabak Maatschappi. | The Amsterdam Deli Co. |
| 1882 | 65 per cent. ... | 25 per cent. ... | 10 per cent. |
| 1883 | 101 ,, ... | 50 ,, ... | 30 ,, |
| 1884 | 77 ,, ... | 60 ,, ... | 30 ,, |
| 1885 | 107 ,, ... | 100 ,, ... | 60 ,, |
| 1886 | 108 ,, ... | ..... | ...... |

In Sumatra, under Dutch rule, tobacco culture can at present only be carried on in certain districts, where the soil is suitable and where the natives are not hostile, and, as most of the best land has been taken up, and planters are beginning to feel harassed by the stringent regulations and heavy taxation of the Dutch Government, both Dutch and German planters are turning their attention to British North Borneo, where they find the regulations easier, and the authorities most anxious to welcome them, while, owing to the scanty population, there is plenty of available land. It is but fair to say that the first experiment in North Borneo was made by an English, or rather an Anglo-Chinese Company, the China-Sabah Land Farming Company, who, on hurriedly selected land in Sandakan and under the disadvantages which usually attend pioneers in a new country, shipped a crop to England which was pronounced by experts in 1886 to equal in quality the best Sumatra-grown leaf. Unfortunately, this Company, which had wasted its resources on various experiments, instead of confining itself to tobacco planting, was unable to continue its operations, but a Dutch planter from Java, Count GELOES D'ELSLOO, having carefully selected his land in Marudu Bay, obtained, in 1887, the high average of $1 per lb. for his trial crop at Amsterdam, and, having formed an influential Company in Europe, is energetically bringing a large area under cultivation, and has informed me that he confidently expects to rival Sumatra, not only in quality, but also in quantity of leaf per acre, as some of his men have cut twelve pikuls per field, whereas six pikuls per field is usually considered a good crop. The question of "quantity" is a very important one, for quality without quantity will never pay on a tobacco estate. Several Dutchmen have followed Count GELOES' example, and two German Companies and one British are now at work in the country. Altogether, fully 350,000 acres* of land have been taken up for tobacco cultivation in British North Borneo up to the present time.

In selecting land for this crop, climate, that is, temperature and rainfall, has equally to be considered with richness of soil. For example, the soil of Java is as rich, or richer than that of Sumatra, but owing to its much smaller rainfall, the tobacco it produces commands nothing like the prices fetched by that of the former. The seasons and rainfall in Borneo are found to be very similar to those of Sumatra. The average recorded annual rainfall at Sandakan for the last seven years is given by Dr. WALKER, the Principal Medical Officer, as 124.34 inches, the range being from 156.9 to 101.26 inches per annum.

Being so near the equator, roughly speaking between N. Latitudes 4 and 7, North Borneo has, unfortunately for the European residents whose lot is cast there, nothing that can be called a winter, the temperature remaining much about the same from year's end to year's end. It used to seem to me that during the day the thermometer was generally about 83 or 85 in the shade, but, I believe, taking the year all round, night and day, the mean temperature is 81, and the extremes recorded on the coast line are 67.5 and 94.5. Dr. WALKER has not yet extended his stations to the hills in the interior, but mentions it as probable that freezing point is occasionally reached near the top of the Kinabalu Mountains, which is 13,700 feet high; he adds that the lowest recorded temperature he has found is 36.5, given by Sir SPENCER ST. JOHN in his "Life in the Forests of the Far East." Snow has never been reported even on Kinabalu, and I am informed that the Charles Louis Mountains in Dutch New Guinea, are the only ones in tropical Asia where the limit of perpetual snow is attained. I must stop to say a word in praise of Kinabalu, "the Chinese Widow,"* the sacred mountain of North Borneo whither the souls of the righteous Dusuns ascend after death. It can be seen from both coasts, and appears to rear its isolated, solid bulk almost straight out of the level country, so dwarfed are the neighbouring hills by its height of 13,680 feet. The best view of it is obtained, either at sunrise or at sunset, from the deck of a ship proceeding along the West Coast, from which it is about twenty miles inland. During the day time the Widow, as a rule, modestly veils her features in the clouds.

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* Governor CREAGH tells me 600,000 acres have now been taken up.

The effect when its huge mass is lighted up at evening by the last rays of the setting sun is truly magnificent.

On the spurs of Kinabalu and on the other lofty hills, of which there is an abundance, no doubt, as the country becomes opened up by roads many suitable sites for sanitoria will be discovered, and the day will come when these hill sides, like those of Ceylon and Java, will be covered with thriving plantations.

Failing winter, the Bornean has to be content with the the change afforded by a dry and a wet season, the latter being looked upon as the "winter," and prevailing during the month of November, December and January. But though the two seasons are sufficiently well defined and to be depended upon by planters, yet there is never a month during the dry season when no rain falls, nor in the wet season are fine days at all rare. The dryest months appear to be March and April, and in June there generally occurs what Doctor WALKER terms an "intermediate" and moderately wet period.

Tobacco is a crop which yields quick returns, for in about 110 to 120 days afrer the seed is sown the plant is ripe for cutting. The *modus operandi* is somewhat after this fashion. First select your land, virgin soil covered with untouched jungle, situated at a distance from the sea, so that no salt breezes may jeopardise the proper burning qualities of the future crop, and as devoid as possible of hills. Then, a point of primary importance which will be again referred to, engage your Chinese coolies, who have to sign agreements for fixed periods, and to be carefully watched afterwards, as it is the custom to give them cash advances on signing, the repayment of which they frequently endeavour to avoid by slipping away just before your vessel sails and probably engaging themselves to another master.

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* For the native derivation of this appellation see page 66 of Journal No. 20.

Without the Chinese cooly, the tobacco planter is helpless, and if the proper season is allowed to pass, a whole year may be lost. The Chinaman is too expensive a machine to be employed on felling the forest, and for this purpose, indeed, the Malay is more suitable and the work is accordingly given him to do under contract. Simultaneously with the felling, a track should be cut right through the heart of the estate by the natives, to be afterwards ditched and drained and made passable for carts by the Chinese coolies.

That as much as possible of the felled jungle should be burned up is so important a matter and one that so greatly affects the individual Chinese labourer, that it is not left to the Malays to do, but, on the completion of the felling, the whole area which is to be planted is divided out into "fields," of about one acre each, and each "field" is assigned by lot to a Chinese cooly, whose duty it is to carefully burn the timber and plant, tend and finally cut the tobacco on his own division, for which he is remunerated in accordance with the quality and quantity of the leaf he is able to bring into the drying sheds. Each "field," having been cleared as carefully as may be of the felled timber, is next thoroughly hoed up, and a small "nursery" prepared in which the seeds provided by the manager are planted and protected from rain and sun by palm leaf mats (*kajangs*) raised on sticks. In about a week, the young plants appear, and the Chinese tenant, as I may call him, has to carefully water them morning and evening. As the young seedlings grow up, their enemy, the worms and grubs, find them out and attack them in such numbers that at least once a day, sometimes oftener, the anxious planter has to go through his nursery and pick them off, otherwise in a short time he would have no tobacco to plant out. About thirty days after the seed has been sown, the seedlings are old enough to be planted out in the field, which has been all the time carefully prepared for their reception. The first thing to be done is to make holes in the soil, at distances of two feet one way and three feet the other, the earth in them being loosened and broken up so that the tender roots should meet with no obstacles to their growth. As the holes are ready for them, the seedlings are taken from the nursery and planted out, being protected from the sun's rays either by fern, or coarse grass, or, in the best managed estates, by a piece of wood, like a roofing shingle, inserted in the soil in such a way as to provide the required shelter. The watering has to be continued till the plants have struck root, when the protecting shelter is removed and the earth banked up round them, care being taken to daily inspect them and remove the worms which have followed them from the nursery. The next operation is that of "topping" the plants, that is, of stopping their further growth by nipping off the heads.

According to the richness of the soil and the general appearance of the plants, this is ordered to be done by the European overseer after a certain number of leaves have been produced. If the soil is poor, perhaps only fourteen leaves will be allowed, while on the richest land the plant can stand and properly ripen as many as twenty-four leaves. The signs of ripening, which generally takes place in about three months from the date of transplantation, are well known to the overseers and are first shewn by a yellow tinge becoming apparent at the tips of the leaves.

The cooly thereupon cuts the plants down close to the ground and lightly and carefully packs them into long baskets so as not to injure the leaves, and carries them to the drying sheds. There they are examined by the overseer of his division, who credits him with the value, based on the quantity and quality of the crop he brings in, the price ranging from $1 up to $8 per thousand trees. The plants are then tied in rows on sticks, heads downwards, and hoisted up in tiers to dry in the shed.

After hanging for a fortnight, they are sufficiently dry and, being lowered down, are stripped of their leaves, which are tied up into small bundles, similar leaves being roughly sorted together.

The bundles of leaves are then taken to other sheds, where the very important process of fermenting them is carried out. For this purpose, they are put into orderly arranged heaps—small at first, but increased in size till very little heat is given out, the heat being tested by a thermometer, or even an ordinary piece of stick inserted into them. When the fermentation is nearly completed and the leaves have attained a fixed colour, they are carefully sorted according to colour, spottiness and freedom from injury of any kind. The price realized in Europe is greatly affected by the care with which the leaves have been fermented and sorted. Spottiness is not always considered a defect, as it is caused by the sun shining on the leaves when they have drops of rain on them, and to this the best leaves are liable; but spotted leaves, broken leaves and in short leaves having the same characteristics should be carefully sorted together. After this sorting is completed as regards class and quality, there is a further sorting in regard to length, and the leaves are then tied together in bundles of thirty-five. These bundles are put into large heaps and, when no more heating is apparent, they are ready to be pressed under a strong screw press and sewn up in bags which are carefully marked and shipped off to Europe—to Amsterdam as a rule.

As the coolies' payment is by "results," it is their interest to take the greatest care of their crops; but for any outside work they may be called on to perform, and for their services as sorters, etc. in the sheds, they are paid extra. During the whole time, also, they receive, for "subsistence" money, $4 or $3 a month. At the end of the season their accounts are made up, being debited with the amount of the original advance, subsistence money and cost of implements, and credited with the value of the tobacco brought in and any wages that may be due for outside work. Each estate possesses a hospital, in which bad cases are treated by a qualified practitioner, while in trifling cases the European overseer dispenses drugs, quinine being that in most demand. If, owing to sickness, or other cause, the cooly has required assistance in his field, the cost thereof is deducted in his final account.

The men live in well constructed "barracks," erected by the owner of the estate, and it is one of the duties of the Chinese "tindals," or overseers acting under the Europeans to see that they are kept in a cleanly, sanitary condition.

The European overseers are under the orders of the head manager, and an estate is divided in such a way that each overseer shall have under his direct control and be responsible for the proper cultivation of about 100 fields. He receives a fixed salary, but his interest in his division is augmented by the fact that he will receive a commission on the value of the crop it produces. His work is onerous and, during the season, he has little time to himself, but should be here, there, and everywhere in his division, seeing that the coolies come out to work at the stated times, that no field is allowed to get in a backward state, and that worms are carefully removed, and, as a large proportion of the men are probably *sinkehs*, that is, new arrivals who have never been on a tobacco estate before, he has, with the assistance of the tindals, to instruct them in their work. When the crop is brought in, he has to examine each cooly's contribution, carefully inspecting each leaf, and keeping an account of the value and quantity of each.

Physical strength, intelligence and an innate desire of amassing dollars, are three essential qualifications for a good tobacco cooly, and, so far, they have only been found united in the Chinaman, the European being out of the question as a field-labourer in the tropics.

The coolies are, as a rule, procured through Chinese cooly brokers in Penang or Singapore, but as regards North Borneo, the charges for commission, transport and the advances—many of which, owing to death, sickness and desertion, are never repaid—have become so heavy as to be almost prohibitive, and my energetic friend, Count GELOES, has set the example of procuring his coolies direct from China, instead of by the old fashioned, roundabout way of the extortionate labour-brokers of the Straits Settlements. North Borneo, it will be remembered, is situated midway between Hongkong and Singapore, and the Court of Directors of the Governing Company could do nothing better calculated to ensure the success of their public-spirited enterprise than to inaugurate regular, direct steam communication between their territory and Hongkong. In the first instance, this could only be effected by a Government subsidy or guarantee, but it is probable that, in a short time, a cargo and passenger traffic would grow up which would permit of the subsidy being gradually withdrawn.

Many of the best men on a well managed estate will re-engage themselves on the expiration of their term of agreement, receiving a fresh advance, and some of them can be trusted to go back to China and engage their clansmen for the estate.

In British North Borneo the general welfare of the indentured coolies is looked after by Government Officials, who act under the provisions of a law entitled "The Estate Coolies and Labourers Protection Proclamation, 1883."

Owing to the expense of procuring coolies and to the fact that every operation of tobacco planting must be performed punctually at the proper season of the year, and to the desirability of encouraging coolies to re-engage themselves, it is manifestly the planters' interest to treat his employés well, and to provide, so far as possible, for their health and comfort on the estate, but, notwithstanding all the care that may be taken, a considerable amount of sickness and many deaths must be allowed for on tobacco estates, which, as a rule, are opened on virgin soil; for, so long as there remains any untouched land on his estate, the planter rarely makes use of land off which a crop has been taken.

In North Borneo the jungle is generally felled towards the end of the wet season, and planting commences in April or May. The Native Dusun, Sulu and Brunai labour is available for jungle-felling and house-building, and *nibong* palms for posts and *nipa* palms for thatch, walls and *kajangs* exist in abundance.

Writing to the Court of Directors in 1884 I said :—"The experiment in the Suanlambah conclusively proves so far that this country will do for tobacco.* * * * There seems every reason to conclude that it will do as well here as in Sumatra. When this fact becomes known, I presume there will be quite a small rush to the country, as the Dutch Government, I hear, is not popular in Sumatra, and land available for tobacco there is becoming scarcer."

My anticipations have been verified, and the rush is already taking place.

The localities at present in favour with tobacco planters are Marudu Bay and Banguey Island in the North, Labuk Bay and Darvel Bay in the neighbourhood of the Silam Station, and the Kinabatangan River on the East

The firstcomers obtained their land on very easy terms, some of them at 30 cents an acre, but the Court has now issued an order that in future no planting land is to be disposed of for a less sum than $1* per acre, free of quit-rent and on a lease for 999 years, with clauses providing that a certain proportion be brought under cultivation.

At present no export duty is levied on tobacco shipped from North Borneo, and the Company has engaged that no such duty shall be imposed before the 1st January, 1892, after which date it will be optional with them to levy an export royalty at the rate of one dollar cent, or a halfpenny, per lb., which rate, they promise, shall not be exceeded during the succeeding twenty years.

The tobacco cultivated in Sumatra and British North Borneo is used chiefly for wrappers for cigars, for which purpose a very fine, thin, elastic leaf is required and one that has a good colour and will burn well and evenly, with a fine white ash. This quality of leaf commands a much higher price than ordidary kinds, and, as stated, Count GELOES' trial crop, from the Ranan Estate in Marudu Bay, averaged 1.83 guilders, or about $1 (3/2) per lb. It is said that 2 lbs. or 2½ lbs. weight of Bornean tobacco will cover 1,000 cigars.

Tobacco is not a new culture in Borneo, as some of the hill natives on the West Coast of North Borneo have grown it in a rough and ready way for years past, supplying the population of Brunai and surrounding districts with a sun-dried article, which used to be preferred to that produced in Java. The Malay name for tobacco is *tambako*, a corruption of the

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* Raised in 1890 to $6 an acre.

Spanish and Portuguese term, but the Brunai people also know it as *sigup*.

It was probably introduced into Malay countries by the Portuguese, who conquered Malacca in 1511, and by the Spanish, who settled in the Philippines in 1565. Its use has become universal with men, women and children, of all tribes and of all ranks. The native mode of using tobacco has been referred to in my description of Brunai.

Fibre-yielding plants are also now attracting attention in North Borneo, especially the Manila hemp (*Musa textilis*) a species of banana, and pine-apples, both of which grow freely. The British Borneo Trading and Planting Company have acquired the patent for Borneo of DEATH'S fibre-cleaning machines, and are experimenting with these products on a considerable scale and, apparently, with good prospects of success.* For a long time past, beautiful cloths have been manufactured of pine-apple fibre in the Philippines, and as it is said that orders have been received from France for Borneo pine-apple fibre, we shall perhaps soon see it used in England under the name of French *silk*.

In the Government Experimental Garden at Silam, in Darvel Bay, cocoa, cinnamon and Liberian coffee have been found to do remarkably well. Sappan-wood and *kapok* or cotton flock also grow freely.

## CHAPTER X.

Many people have a very erroneous idea of the objects and intentions of the British North Borneo Company. Some, with a dim recollection of untold wealth having been extracted from the natives of India in the early days of the Honourable East India Company, conceive that the Company can have no other object than that of fleecing our natives in order to pay dividends; but the old saying, that it is a difficult matter to steal a Highlander's pantaloons, is applicable to North Borneo, for only a magician could extract anything much worth having in the shape of loot from the easy going natives of the country, who, in a far more practical sense than the Christians of Europe, are ready to say "sufficient for the day is the evil thereof," and who do not look forward and provide for the future, or heap up riches to leave to their posterity.

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* The anticipated success has not been achieved as yet.

Some years ago, a correspondent of an English paper displayed his ignorance on the matter by maintaining that the Company coerced the natives and forced them to buy Manchester goods at extortionate prices. An Oxford Don, when I first received my appointment as Governor, imagined that I was going out as a sort of slave-driver, to compel the poor natives to work, without wages, on the Company's plantations. But, as a matter of fact, though entitled to do so by the Royal Charter, the Company has elected to engage neither in trade nor in planting, deeming that their desire to attract capital and population to their territory will be best advanced by their leaving the field entirely open to others, for otherwise there would always have been a suspicion that rival traders and planters were handicapped in the race with a Company which had the making and the administration of laws and the imposition of taxation in its hands.

It will be asked, then, if the Company do not make a profit out of trading, or planting, or mining, what could have induced them to undertake the Government of a tropical country, some 10,000 miles or more distant from London, for Englishmen, as a rule, do not invest hundreds of thousands of pounds with the philanthropic desire only of benefitting an Eastern race?

The answer to this question is not very plainly put in the Company's prospectus, which states that its object "is the carrying on of the work begun by the Provisional Association" (said in the previous paragraphs of the prospectus to have been the successful accomplishment of the *completion* of the pioneer work) "and the further improvement and full utilization of the vast natural resources of the country, by the introduction of new capital and labour, which they intend shall be stimulated, aided and protected by a just, humane and enlightened Government. The benefits likely to flow from the accomplishment of this object, in the opening up of new fields of tropical agriculture, new channels of enterprise, and new markets for the world's manufactures, are great and incontestable." I quite agree with the framer of the prospectus that these benefits are great and incontestable, but then they would be benefits conferred on the world at large at the expense of the shareholders of the Company, and I presume that the source from which the shareholders are to be recouped is the surplus revenues which a wisely administered Government would ensure, by judiciously fostering colonisation, principally by Chinese, by the sale of the vast acreages of "waste" or Government lands, by leasing the right to work the valuable timber forests and such minerals as may be found to exist in workable quantities, by customs duties and the "farming out" of the exclusive right to sell opium, spirits, tobacco, etc., and by other methods of raising revenue in vogue in the Eastern Colonies of the Crown. In fact, the sum invested by the shareholders is to be considered in the light of a loan to the Colony—its public debt—to be repaid with interest as the resources of the country are developed. Without encroaching on land worked, or owned by the natives, the Company has a large area of unoccupied land which it can dispose of for the highest price obtainable. That this must be the case is evident from a comparison with the Island of Ceylon, where Government land sales are still held. The area of North Borneo, it has been seen, is larger than that of Ceylon, but its population is only about 160,000, while that of Ceylon is returned as 2,825,000; furthermore, notwithstanding this comparatively large population, it is said that the land under cultivation in Ceylon forms only about one-fifth of its total area. From what I have said of the prospects of tobacco-planting in British North Borneo, it will be understood that land is being rapidly taken up, and the Company will soon be in a position to increase its selling price. Town and station lands are sold under different conditions to that for planting purposes, and are restricted as a rule to lots of the size of 66 feet by 33 feet. The lease is for 999 years, but there is an annual quit-rent at the rate of $6 per lot, which is redeemable at fifteen years' purchase. At Sandakan, lots of this size have at auction realized a premium of $350. In all cases, coal, minerals, precious stones, edible nests and guano are reserved to the Government, and, in order to protect the native proprietors, it is provided that any foreigner desirous of purchasing land from a native must do so through the Government.

Titles and mutations of titles to land are carefully registered and recorded in the Land Office, under the provisions of the Hongkong Registration of Documents Ordinance, which has been adopted in the State.

The local Government is administered by a Governor, selected by the Court of Directors subject to the approval of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. He is empowered to enact laws, which require confirmation by the Court, and is assisted in his executive functions by a Government Secretary, Residents, Assistant Residents, a Treasurer-General, a Commissioner of Lands, a Superintendent of Public Works, Commandant, Postmaster-General and other Heads of Departments usually to be found in Crown Colonies, and the British Colonial Regulations are adhered to as closely as circumstances admit. The title of Resident is borrowed from the Dutch Colonies, and the duties of the post are analogous to those of the Resident Councillors of Penang or Malacca, under the Governor of Singapore, or of the Government Agents in Ceylon. The Governor can also call to assist him in his deliberations a Council of Advice, composed of some of the Heads of Departments and of natives of position nominated to seats therein.

The laws are in the form of "Proclamations" issued by the Governor under the seal of the Territory. Most of the laws are adaptations, in whole or in part, of Ordinances enacted in Eastern Colonies, such as the Straits Settlements, Hongkong, Labuan and Fiji.

The Indian Penal Code, the Indian Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure and the Indian Evidence and Contract Acts have been adopted in their entirety, "so far as the same shall be applicable to the circumstances of this Territory."

The Proclamation making these and other Acts the law in North Borneo was the first formal one issued, and bears date the 23rd December, 1881.

The law relating to the protection of estate coolies and labourers has been already referred to.

The question of domestic slavery was one of the first with which the Company had to grapple, the Royal Charter having ordained that "the Company shall to the best of its power discourage and, as far as may be practicable, abolish by hegrees, any system of domestic servitude existing among the tribes of the Coast or interior of Borneo; and no foreigners whether European, Chinese or other, shall be allowed to own slaves of any kind in the Company's territories." Slavery and kidnapping were rampant in North Borneo under native regime and were one of the chief obstacles to the unanimous acceptance of the Company's rule by the Chiefs. At first the Residents and other officers confined their efforts to prohibiting the importation of slaves for sale, and in assisting slaves who were ill-treated to purchase their liberty. In 1883, a Proclamation was issued which will have the effect of gradually abolishing the system, as required by the Charter. Its chief provisions are as follows:—No foreigners are allowed to hold slaves, and no slaves can be imported for sale, nor can the natives buy slaves in a foreign country and introduce them into Borneo *as slaves,* even should there be no intention of selling them as such. Slaves taking refuge in the country from abroad will not be surrendered, but slaves belonging to natives of the country will be given up to their owners unless they can prove ill-treatment, or that they have been brought into the territory subsequently to the 1st November, 1883, and it is optional for any slave to purchase his or her freedom by payment of a sum, the amount of which is to be fixed, from time to time, by the Government.

A woman also becomes free if she can prove that she has cohabited with her master, or with any person other than her husband, with the connivance of her master or mistress; and finally "all children born of slave parents after the first day of November, 1883, and who would by ancient custom be deemed to be slaves, are hereby proclaimed to be free, and any person treating or attempting to treat any such children as slaves shall be guilty of an offence under this Proclamation." The punishment for offences against the provisions of this Proclamation extends to imprisonment for ten years and to a fine up to five thousand dollars.

The late Mr. WITTI, one of the first officers of the Association, at my request, drew up, in 1881, an interesting report on the system of Slavery in force in the Tampassuk District, on the West Coast, of which the following is a brief summary. Slaves in this district are divided into two classes—those who are slaves in a strict and rigorous sense, and those whose servitude is of a light description. The latter are known as *anak mas*, and are the children of a slave mother by a free man other than her master. If a female, she is the slave or *anak mas* of her mother's master, but cannot be sold by him; if a boy, he is practically free, cannot be sold and, if he does not care to stay with his master, can move about and earn his own living, not sharing his earnings with his master, as is the case in some other districts. In case of actual need, however, his master can call upon him for his services.

If an an *anak mas* girl marries a freeman, she at once becomes a free woman, but a *brihan*, or marriage gift, of from two to two and a half pikuls of brass gun—valued at $20 to $25 a pikul—is payable by the bridegroom to the master.

If she marry a slave, she remains an *anak mas*, but such cases are very rare and only take place when the husband is in a condition to pay a suitable *brihan* to the owner.

If an ordinary slave woman becomes *enceinte* by her owner, she and her offspring are henceforth free and, she may remain as one of her late master's wives. But the jealousy of the inmates of the harem often causes abortion to be procured.

The slaves, as a rule, have quite an easy time of it, living with and, as their masters, sharing the food of the family and being supplied with tobacco, betel-nut and other native luxuries. There is no difference between them and free men in the matter of dress, and in the arms which all carry, and the mere fact that they are allowed to wear arms is pretty conclusive evidence of their not being bullied or oppressed.

They assist in domestic duties and in the operations of harvest and trading and so forth, but there is no such institution as a slave-gang, working under task masters, a picture which is generally present to the Englishman's mind when he hears of the existence of slavery. The slave gang was an institution of the white slave-owner. Slave couples, provided they support themselves, are allowed to set up house and cultivate a patch of land.

For such minor offences as laziness and attempting to escape, the master can punish his slaves with strokes of the rattan, but if an owner receives grave provocation and kills his slave, the matter will probably not be taken notice of by the elders of the village.

An incorrigble slave is sometimes punished by being sold out of the district.

If a slave is badly treated and insufficiently provided with food, his offence in endeavouring to escape is generally condoned by public opinion. If a slave is, without sufficient cause, maltreated by a freeman, his master can demand compensation from the agressor. Slaves of one master can, with their owner's consent, marry, and no *brihan* is demanded, but if they belong to different masters, the woman's master is entitled to a *brihan* of one pikul, equal to $20 or $25. They continue to be the slaves of their respective masters, but are allowed to live together, and in case of a subsequent separation they return to the houses of their masters. Should a freeman, other than her master, wish to marry a slave, he practically buys her from her owner with a *brihan* of $60 or $75.

Sometimes a favourite slave is raised to a position intermediate between that of an ordinary slave and an *anak mas*, and is regarded as a brother, or sister, father, mother, or child; but if he or she attempt to escape, a reversion to the condition of an ordinary slave is the result. Occasionally, slaves are given their freedom in fulfilment of a vow to that effect made by the master in circumstances of extreme danger, experienced in company with the slave.

A slave once declared free can never be claimed again by his former master.

Debts contracted by a slave, either in his own name, or in that of his master, are not recoverable.

By their own extra work, after performing their service to their owners, slaves can acquire private property and even themselves purchase and own slaves.

Infidel slaves, of both sexes, are compulsorily converted to Muhammadanism and circumcized and, even though they should recover their freedom, they seldom relapse.

There are, or rather were, a large number of debt slaves in North Borneo. For a debt of three pikuls—$60 to $75—a man might be enslaved if his friends could not raise the requisite sum, and he would continue to be a slave until the debt was paid, but, as a most usurious interest was charged, it was almost always a hopeless task to attempt it.

Sometimes an inveterate gambler would sell himself to pay off his debts of honour, keeping the balance if any.

The natives, regardless of the precepts of the Koran, would purchase any slaves that were offered for sale, whether infidel or Muhammadan. The importers were usually the Illanun and Sulu kidnappers, who would bring in slaves of all tribes—Bajaus, Illanuns, Sulus, Brunais, Manilamen, natives of Palawan and natives of the interior of Magindanau—all was fish that came into their net. The selling price was as follows:—A boy, about 2 pikuls, a man 3 pikuls. A girl, 3 to 4 pikuls, a young woman, 3 to 5 pikuls. A person past middle age about 1½ pikuls. A young couple, 7 to 8 pikuls, an old couple, about 5 pikuls. The pikul was then equivalent to $20 or $25. Mr. WITTI further stated that in Tampassuk the proportion of free men to slaves was only one in three, and in Marudu Bay only one in five. In Tampassuk there were more female than male slaves.

Mr. A. H. EVERETT reported that, in his district of Pappar-Kimanis, there was no slave *trade*, and that the condition of the domestic slaves was not one of hardship.

Mr. W. B. PRYER, speaking for the East Coast, informed me that there were only a few slaves in the interior, mostly Sulus who had been kidnapped and sold up the rivers. Among the Sulus of the coast, the relation was rather that of follower and lord than of slave and master. When he first settled at Sandakan, he could not get men to work for him for wages, they deemed it *degrading* to do so, but they said they would work for him if he would *buy* them! Sulu, under Spanish influence, and Bulungan, in Dutch Borneo, were the chief slave markets, but the Spanish and Dutch are gradually suppressing this traffic.

There was a colony of Illanuns and Balinini settled at Tunku and Teribas on the East Coast, who did a considerable business in kidnapping, but in 1879 Commander E. EDWARDS, in H. M. S. *Kestrel*, attacked and burnt their village, capturing and burning several piratical boats and prahus.

Slavery, though not yet extinct in Borneo, has received a severe check in British North Borneo and in Sarawak, and is rapidly dying out in both countries; in fact it is a losing business to be a slave-owner now.

Apart from the institution of slavery, which is sanctioned by the Muhammadan religion, the religious customs and laws of the various tribes "especially with respect to the holding, "possession, transfer and disposition of lands and goods, and "testate or intestate succession thereto, and marriage, divorce "and legitimacy, and the rights of property and personal "rights" are carefully regarded by the Company's Government, as in duty bound, according to the terms of Articles 8 and 9 of the Royal Charter. The services of native headmen are utilised as much as possible, and Courts composed of Native Magistrates have been established, but at the same time efforts are made to carry the people with the Government in ameliorating and advancing their social position, and thus involves an amendment of some of the old customs and laws.

Moreover, customs which are altogether repugnant to modern ideas are checked or prohibited by the new Government; as, for example, the time-honoured custom of a tribe periodically balancing the account of the number of heads taken or lost by it from or to another tribe, an audit which, it is strange to say, almost invariably results in the discovery on the part of the stronger tribe that they are on the wrong side of the account and have a balance to get from the others. These hitherto interminable feuds, though not altogether pu- a stop to in the interior, have been in many districts effectt ually brought to an end, Government officers having been asked by the natives themselves to undertake the examination of the accounts and the tribe who was found to be on the debtor side paying, not human heads, but compensation in goods at a fixed rate per head due. Another custom which the Company found it impossible to recognize was that of *summungap*, which was, in reality, nothing but a form of human sacrifice, the victim being a slave bought for the purpose, and the object being to send a message to a deceased relative. With this object in view, the slave used to be bound and wrapped in cloth, when the relatives would dance round him and each thrust a spear a short way into his body, repeating, as he did so, the message which he wished conveyed. This operation was performed till the slave succumbed.

The Muhammadan practice of cutting off the hair of a woman convicted of adultery, or of men flogging her with a rāttan, and that of cutting off the head of a thief, have also not received the recognition of the Company's Government.

It has been shewn that the native population of North Borneo is very small, only about five to the square mile, and as the country is fertile and well-watered and possesses, for the tropics, a healthy climate, there must be some exceptional cause for the scantiness of the population. This is to be found chiefly in the absence, already referred to, of any strong central Government in former days, and to the consequent presence of all forms of lawlessness, piracy, slave-trading, kidnapping and head-hunting.

In more recent years, too, cholera and small-pox have made frightful ravages amongst the natives, almost annihilating some of the tribes, for the people knew of no remedies and, on the approach of the scourge, deserted their homes and their sick and fled to the jungle, where exposure and privation rendered them more than ever liable to the disease. Since the Company's advent, efforts are being successfully made to introduce vaccination, in which most of the people now have confidence.

This fact of a scanty native population has, in some ways, rendered the introduction of the Company's Government a less arduous undertaking than it might otherwise have proved, and has been a fortunate circumstance for the shareholders, who have the more unowned and virgin land to dispose of.

In British North Borneo, luckily for the Company, there is not, as there is in Sarawak, any one large, powerful tribe, whose presence might have been a source of trouble, or even of danger to the young Government, but the aborigines are split up into a number of petty tribes, speaking very distinct dialects and, generally, at enmity amongst themselves, so that a general coalition of the bad elements amongst them is impossible.

The institution and amusement of head-hunting appears never to have been taken up and followed with so much energy and zeal in North Borneo as among the Dyaks of Sarawak. I do not think that it was as a rule deemed absolutely essential with any of our tribes that a young man should have taken at least a head or two before he could venture to aspire to the hand of the maiden who had led captive his heart. The heads of slain enemies were originally taken by the conquerors as a substantial proof and trophy of their successful prowess, which could not be gainsaid, and it came, in time, to be considered the proper thing to be able to boast of the possession of a large number of these ghastly tokens; and so an ambitious youth, in his desire for applause, would not be particularly careful from whom, or in what manner he obtained a head, and the victim might be, not only a person with whom he had no quarrel, but even a member of a friendly tribe, and the mode of acquisition might be, not by a fair stand-up fight, a test of skill and courage, but by treachery and ambush. Nor did it make very much difference whether the head obtained was that of a man, a woman or a child, and in their petty wars it was even conceived to be an honourable distinction to bring in the heads of women and children, the reasoning being that the men of the attacked tribe must have fought their best to defend their wives and children.

The following incident, which occurred some years ago at the Colony of Labuan, serves to shew how immaterial it was whether a friend, or foe, or utter stranger was the victim. A Murut chief of the Trusan, a river on the mainland over against Labuan, was desirous of obtaining some fresh heads on the occasion of a marriage feast, and put to sea to a district inhabited by a hostile tribe. Meeting with adverse winds, his canoes were blown over to the British Colony; the Muruts landed, held apparently friendly intercourse with some of the Kadaian (Muhammadan) population and, after a visit of two or three days, made preparations to sail; but meeting a Kadaian returning to his home alone, they shot him and went off with his head—though the man was an entire stranger to them, and they had no quarrel with any of his tribe.

With the assistance of the Brunai authorities, the chief and several of his accomplices were subsequently secured and sent for trial to Labuan. The chief died in prison, while awaiting trial, but one or two of his associates paid the penalty of their wanton crime.

A short time afterwards, Mr. COOK and I visited the Lawas River for sport, and took up our abode in a Murut long house, where, I remember, a large basket of skulls was placed as an ornament at the head of my sleeping place. One night, when all our men, with the exception of my Chinese servant, were away in the jungle, trying to trap the then newly discovered "Bulwer pheasant," some Muruts from the Trusan came over and informed our hosts of the fate of their chief. On the receipt of this intelligence, all the men of our house left it and repaired to one adjoining, where a great "drink" was held, while the women indulged in a loud, low, monotonous, heart-breaking wail, which they kept up for several hours. Mr. COOK and myself agreed that things looked almost as bad for us as they well could, and when, towards morning, the men returned to our house, my Chinese boy clung to me in terror and—nothing happened! But certainly I do not think I have ever passed such an uncomfortable period of suspense.

Writing to the Court of Directors of the East India Company a hundred and thirteen years ago, Mr. YESSE, who concluded the pepper monopoly agreement with the Brunai Government, referring to the Murut predilection for head-hunting says:—"With respect to the Idaan, or Muruts, as they are called here, I cannot give any account of their disposition; but from what I have heard from the Borneyans, they are a set of abandoned idolaters; one of their tenets, so strangely inhuman, I cannot pass unnoticed, which is, that their future interest depends upon the number of their fellow creatures they have killed in any engagement, or common disputes, and count their degrees of happiness to depend on the number of human skulls in their possession; from which, and the wild, disorderly life they lead, unrestrained by any bond of civil society, we ought not to be surprised if they are of a cruel and vindictive disposition." I think this is rather a case of giving a dog a bad name.

I heard read once at a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, an eloquent paper on the Natives of the Andaman Islands, in which the lecturer, after shewing that the Andamanese were suspicious, treacherous, blood-thirsty, ungrateful and untruthful, concluded by giving it as his opinion that they were very good fellows and in many ways superior to white man.

I do not go quite so far as he does, but I must say that many of the aborigines are very pleasant good-natured creatures, and have a lot of good qualities in them, which, with care and discriminating legislation on the part of their new rulers, might be gradually developed, while the evil qualities which they possess in common with all races of men, might be *pari passu* not extinguished, but reduced to a minimum. But this result can only be secured by officers who are naturally of a sympathetic disposition and ready to take the trouble of studying the natives and entering into their thoughts and aspirations.

In many instances, the Company has been fortunate in its choice of officials, whose work has brought them into intimate connection with the aborigines.

A besetting sin of young officers is to expect too much—they are conscious that their only aim is to advance the best interests of the natives, and they are surprised and hurt at, what they consider, the want of gratitude and backwardness in seconding their efforts evinced by them. They forget that the people are as yet in the schoolboy stage, and should try and remember how, in their own schoolboy days, they offered opposition to the efforts of their masters for *their* improvement, and how little gratitude they felt, at the time, for all that was done for them. Patience and sympathy are the two qualifications especially requisite in officers selected for the management of native affairs.

In addition to the indigenous population, there are, settled along the coast and at the mouths of the principal rivers, large numbers of the more highly civilized tribes of Malays, of whose presence in Borneo an explanation has been attempted on a previous page. They are known as Brunais—called by the Natives, for some unexplained reason, *orang abai*—Sulus, Bajows, Illanuns and Balininis; there are also a few Bugis, or natives of Celebes.

These are the people who, before the Company's arrival, lorded it over the more ignorant interior tribes, and prevented their having direct dealings with traders and foreigners, and to whom, consequently, the advent of a still more civilized race than themselves was very distasteful.

The habits of the Brunai people have already been sufficiently described.

The Sulus are, next to the Brunais, the most civilized race and, without any exception, the most warlike and powerful. For nearly three centuries, they have been more or less in a state of war with the Spaniards of the Philippine Islands, and even now, though the Spaniards have established a fortified port in their principal island, their subjugation is by no means complete.

The Spanish officials dare not go beyond the walls of their settlement, unless armed and in force, and it is no rare thing for fanatical Sulus, singly or in small parties, to make their way into the Spanish town, under the guise of unarmed and friendly peasants, and then suddenly draw their concealed krises and rush with fury on officers, soldiers and civilians, generally managing to kill several before they are themselves cut down.

They are a much bolder and more independent race than the Brunais, who have always stood in fear of them, and it was in consideration of its undertaking to defend them against their attacks that the Brunai Government conceded the exclusive trade in pepper to the East India Company. Their religion—Muhammadanism—sits even more lightly on the Sulus than on the Brunais, and their women, who are fairer and better looking than their Brunai sisters, are never secluded or veiled, but often take part in public deliberations and, in matters of business, are even sharper than the men.

The Sulus are a bloodthirsty and hard-hearted race, and, when an opportunity occurs, are not always averse to kidnapping even their own countrymen and selling them into slavery. They entertain a high notion of their own importance, and are ever ready to resent with their krises the slightest affront which they may conceive has been put upon them.

In Borneo, they are found principally on the North-East Coast, and a good many have settled in British North Borneo under the Company's Government. They occasionally take contracts for felling jungle and other work of similar character, but are less disposed than the Brunai men to perform work for Europeans on regular wages. Among their good qualities, it may be mentioned that they are faithful and trustworthy followers of any European to whom they may become attached. Their language is distinct from ordinary Malay, and is akin to that of the Bisaias, one of the principal tribes of the Philippines, and is written in the Arabic character; but many Malay terms have been adopted into the language, and most of the trading and seafaring Sulus know enough Malay to conclude a bargain.

The most numerous Muhammadan race in British North] Borneo is that of the Bajows, who are found on both coasts, but, on the West Coast, not South of the Pappar River. These are the *orang-laut* (men of the sea) or sea-gipsies of the old writers, and are the worst class that we have to deal with, being of a treacherous and thievish disposition, and confirmed gamblers and cattle-lifters.

They also form a large proportion of the population of the Sulu Islands, where they are, or used to be, noted kidnappers and pirates, though also distinguished for their skill in pearl fisheries. Their religion is that of Mahomet and their language Malay mixed, it is said, with Chinese and Japanese elements; their women are not secluded, and it is a rare thing for a Borneo Bajow to take the trouble of making the pilgrimage to Mecca. They are found along the coasts of nearly all the Malay Islands and, apparently, in former days lived entirely in their boats. In British North Borneo, a large majority have taken to building houses and residing on the shore, but when Mr. PRYER first settled at Sandakan, there was a considerable community of them in the Bay, who had no houses at all, but were born, bred, married and died in their small canoes.

On the West Coast, the Bajows, who have for a long time been settled ashore, appear to be of smaller build and darker colour than the other Malays, with small sparkling black eyes, but on the East Coast, where their condition is more primitive, Mr. PRYER thinks they are much larger in stature and stronger and more swarthy than ordinary Malays.

On the East Coast, there are no buffaloes or horned cattle, so that the Bajows there have, or I should say *had*, to be content with kidnapping only, and as an example of their daring I may relate that in, I think, the year 1875, the Austrian Frigate *Friederich*, Captain Baron OESTERREICHER, was surveying to the South of Darvel Bay, and, running short of coal, sent an armed party ashore to cut firewood. The Bajows watched their opportunity and, when the frigate was out of sight, seized the cutter, notwithstanding the fire of the party on the shore, who expended all their ammunition in vain, and carried off the two boat-keepers, whose heads were subsequently shewn round in triumph in the neighbouring islands. Baron OESTERREICHER was unable to discover the retreat of these Bajows, and they remain unpunished to this day, and are at present numbered among the subjects of the British North Borneo Company. I have been since told that I have more than once unwittingly shaken hands and had friendly intercourse with some of them. In fairness to them I should add that it is more than probable that they mistook the *Friederich* for a vessel belonging to Spain, with whom their sovereign, the Sultan of Sulu, was at that time at war. After this incident, and by order of his Government, Baron OESTERREICHER visited Sandakan Bay and, I believe, reported that he could discover no population there other than monkeys. Altogether, he could not have carried away with him a very favourable impression of Northern Borneo. On the West Coast, gambling and cattle-lifting are the main pursuits of the gentlemanly Bajow, pursuits which soon brought him into close and very uncomfortable relations with the new Government, for which he entertains anything but feelings of affection. One of the principal independent rivers on the West Coast—*i. e.*, rivers which have not yet been ceded to the Company—is the Mengkabong, the majority of the inhabitants of which are Bajows, so that it has become a sort of river of refuge for the bad characters on the coast, as well as an entrepôt for the smuggling of gunpowder for sale to the head-hunting tribes of the interior. The existence of these independent and intermediate rivers on their West Coast is a serious difficulty for the Company in its efforts to establish good government and put down lawlessness, and every one having at heart the true interests of the natives of Borneo must hope that the Company will soon be successful in the negotiations which they have opened for the acquisition of these rivers. The Kawang was an important river, inhabited by a small number of Bajows, acquired by the Company in 1884, and the conduct of these people on one occasion affords a good idea of their treachery and their hostility towards good government. An interior tribe had made itself famous for its head-hunting proclivities, and the Kawang was selected as the best route by which to reach their district and inflict punishment upon them. The selection of this route was not a politic one, seeing that the inhabitants *were* Bajows, and that they had but recently come under the Company's rule. The expedition was detained a day or two at the Bajow village, as the full number of Dusun baggage-carriers had not arrived, and the Bajows were called upon to make up the deficiency, but did not do so. Matters were further complicated by the Dusuns recognising some noted cattle-lifters in the village, and demanding a buffalo which had been stolen from them. It being impossible to obtain the required luggage carriers, it was proposed to postpone the expedition, the stores were deposited in some of the houses of the village and the Constabulary were "dismissed" and, piling their arms, laid down under the shelter of some trees. Without any warning one of two Bajows, with whom Dr. FRASER was having an apparently friendly chat, discharged his musket point blank at the Doctor, killing him on the spot, and seven others rushed among the unarmed

Constables and speared the Sikh Jemmadhar and the Sergeant-Major and a private and then made off for the jungle. Captain DE FONTAINE gallantly, but rashly started off in pursuit, before any one could support him. He tripped and fell and was so severely wounded by the Bajows, after killing three of them with his revolver, that he died a few days afterwards at Sandakan. By this time the Sikhs had got their rifles and firing on the retreating party killed three and wounded two. Assistant Resident LITTLE, who had received a spear in his arm, shot his opponent dead with his revolver. None of the other villagers took any active part, and consequently were only punished by the imposition of a fine. They subsequently all cleared out of the Company's territory. It was a sad day for the little Colony at Sandakan when Mr. WHITEHEAD, a naturalist who happened to be travelling in the neighbourhood at the time, brought us the news of the melancholy affray, and the wounded Captain DE FONTAINE and several Sikhs, to whose comfort and relief he had, at much personal inconvenience, attended on the tedious voyage in a small steam-launch from the Kawang to the Capital. On the East Coast, also , their slave-dealing and kidnapping propensities brought the Bajows into unfriendly relations with the Government, and their lawlessness culminated in their kidnapping several Eraan birds' nest collectors, whom they refused to surrender, and making preparations for resisting any measures which might be taken to coerce them. As these same people had, a short time previously, captured at sea some five Dutch subjects, it was deemed that their offences brought them within the cognizance of the Naval authorities, and Captain A. K. HOPE, R.N., at my request, visited the district, in 1886, in H. M. S. *Zephyr* and, finding that the people of two of the Bajow villages refused to hold communication with us, but prepared their boats for action, he opened fire on them under the protection of which a party of the North Borneo Constabulary landed and destroyed the villages, which were quickly deserted, and many of the boats which had been used on piratical excursions. Happily, there was no loss of life on either side, and a very wholesome and useful lesson was given to the pirates without the shedding of blood, thanks to the good arrangements and tact of Captain HOPE. In order that the good results of this lesson should not be wasted, I revisited the scene of the little engagement in the *Zepyhyr* a few weeks subsequently, and not long afterwards the British flag was again shewn in the district, by Captain A. H. ALINGTON in H. M. S. *Satellite*, who interviewed the offending chiefs and gave them sound advice as to their conduct in future.

Akin to the Bajows are the Illanuns and Balinini, Muhammadan peoples, famous in former days as the most enterprising pirates of the Malayan seas. The Balinini, Balignini or Balanguini—as their name is variously written—originally came from a small island to the north of Sulu, and the Illanuns from the south coast of the island of Mindanao—one of the Philippines, but by the action of the Spanish and British cruisers their power has been broken and they are found scattered in small numbers throughout the Sulu Islands and on the seaboard of Northern Borneo, on the West Coast of which they founded little independent settlements, arrogating to their petty chiefs such high sounding titles as Sultan, Maharajah and so forth.

The Illanuns are a proud race and distinguished by wearing a much larger sword than the other tribes, with a straight blade about 28 inches in length. This sword is called a *kampilan*, and is used in conjunction with a long, narrow, wooden shield, known by the name of *klassap*, and in the use of these weapons the Illanuns are very expert and often boast that, were it not for their gunpowder, no Europeans could stand up to them, face to face. I believe, that it is these people who in former days manufactured the chain armour of which I have seen several specimens, but the use of which has now gone out of fashion. Those I have are made of small brass rings linked together, and with plates of brass or buffalo horn in front. The headpiece is of similar construction.

There are no Negritos in Borneo, although they exist in the Malay Peninsula and the Philippines, and our explorers have failed to obtain any specimens of the "tailed" people in whose existence many of the Brunai people believe. The late Sultan of Brunai gravely assured me that there was such a tribe, and that the individuals composing it were in the habit of carrying about chairs with them, in the seat of each of which there was a little hole, in which the lady or gentleman carefully inserted her or his tail before settling down to a comfortable chat. This belief in the existence of a tailed race appears to be widespread, and in his "Pioneering in New Guinea" Mr. CHALMERS gives an amusing account of a detailed description of such a tribe by a man who vowed *he had lived with them*, and related how they were provided with long sticks, with which to make holes in the ground before squatting down, for the reception of their short stumpy tails! I think it is Mr. H. F. ROMILLY who, in his interesting little work on the Western Pacific and New Guinea, accounts for the prevalence of "yarns" of this class by explaining that the natives regard Europeans as being vastly superior to them in general knowledge and, when they find them asking such questions as, for instance, whether there are tailed-people in the interior, jump to the conclusion that the white men must have good grounds for believing that they do exist, and then they gradually come to believe in their existence themselves. There is, however, I think, some excuse for the Brunai people's belief, for I have seen one tribe of Muruts who, in addition to the usual small loin cloth, wear on their backs only a skin of a long-tailed monkey, the tail of which hangs down behind in such a manner as, when the men are a little distance off, to give one at first glance the impression that it is part and parcel of the biped.

In Labuan it used to be a very common occurrence for the graves of the Europeans, of which unfortunately, owing to its bad climate when first settled, there are a goodly number, to be found desecrated and the bones scattered about. The perpetrators of these outrages have never been discovered, notwithstanding the most stringent enquiries. It was once thought that they were broken open by head-hunting tribes from the mainland, but this theory was disproved by the fact that the skulls were never carried away. As we know of no Borneo tribe which is in the habit of breaking open graves, the only conclusion that can be come to is that the graves were rifled under the supposition that the Europeans buried treasure with their dead, though it is strange that their experiences of failure never seemed to teach them that such was not the case.

The Muhammadan natives are buried in the customary Muhammadan manner in regular graveyards kept for the purpose.

The aborigines generally bury their dead near their houses, erecting over the graves little sheds adorned, in the case of chiefs, with bright coloured clothes, umbrellas, etc. I once went to see the lying in state of a deceased Datoh, who had been dead nine days. On entering the house I looked about for the corpse in vain, till my attention was drawn to an old earthen jar, tilted slightly forward, on the top of the old Chief's goods—his sword, spear, gun and clothing.

In this jar were the Datoh's remains, the poor old fellow having been doubled up, head and heels together, and forced through the mouth of the vessel, which was about two feet in diameter. The jar itself was about four feet high. Over the corpse was thickly sprinkled the native camphor, and the jar was closed with a piece of buffalo hide, well sealed over with gum dammar. They told us the Datoh was dressed in his best clothes and had his pipe with him, but nothing else. He was to be buried that day in a small grave excavated near the house, just large enough to contain the jar, and a buffalo was being killed and intoxicating drink prepared for the numerous friends and followers who were flocking in for the wake. Over his grave cannon would be fired to arouse the spirits who were to lead him to Kinabalu, the people shouting out "Turn neither to the right nor to the left, but proceed straight to Kinabalu"—the sacred mountain where are collected the spirits of all good Dusuns under, I believe, the presidency of a great spirit known as Kinaringan.

## CHAPTER XI.

The population of North Borneo, as has been shewn, is very scanty, and the great object of the new Government should be to attract population and capital to their territory. Java is often quoted as an island which, under Dutch rule, has attained great prosperity without any large immigration of Chinese or other foreigners. This is true, but in Java the Dutch had not only a fertile soil and good climate in their favour, but found their Colony already thickly populated by native races who had, under Hindu and Arab influences, made considerable advances in civilization, in trade and in agriculture, and who, moreover, had been acccustomed to a strong Government.

The Dutch, too, were in those days able to introduce a Government of a paternal and despotic character which the British North Borneo Company are, by the terms of the Royal Charter, precluded from imitating.

It was Sir JAMES BROOKE'S wish to keep Sarawak for the natives, but his successor has recognised the impolicy of so doing and admits that "without the Chinese we can do nothing." Experience in the Straits Settlements, the Malay Peninsula and Sarawak has shewn that the people to cause rapid financial progress in Malayan countries are the hard-working, money-loving Chinese, and these are the people whom the Company should lay themselves out to attract to Borneo, as I have more than once pointed out in the course of these remarks. It matters not what it is that attracts them to the country, whether trade, as in Singapore, agriculture, as in Johor and Sarawak, or mining as in Perak and other of the Protected Native States of the Peninsula—once get them to voluntarily immigrate, and govern them with firmness and justice, and the financial success of the Company would, in my opinion, be assured. The inducements for the Chinese to come to North Borneo are trade, agriculture and possibly mining. The bulk of those already in the country are traders, shop-keepers, artisans and the coolies employed by them, and the numbers introduced by the European tobacco planters for the cultivation of their estates, under the system already explained, is yearly increasing. Very few are as yet engaged in agriculture on their own account, and it must be confessed that the luxuriant tropical jungle presents considerable difficulties to an agriculturist from China, accustomed to a country devoid of forest, and it would be impossible for Chinese peasants to open land in Borneo for themselves without monetary assistance, in the first instance, from the Government or from capitalists. In Sarawak Chinese pepper planters were attracted by free passages in Government ships and by loans of money, amounting to a considerable total, nearly all of which have since been repaid, while the revenues of the State have been almost doubled. The British North Borneo Company early recognised the desirabilty of encouraging Chinese immigration, but set to work in too great haste and without judgment.

They were fortunate in obtaining the services for a short time, as their Commissioner of Chinese Immigration, of a man so well-known in China as the late Sir WALTER MEDHURST, but he was appointed before the Company's Government was securely established and before proper arrangements had been made for the reception of the immigrants, or sufficient knowledge obtained of the best localities in which to locate them. His influence and the offer of free passages from China, induced many to try their fortune in the Colony, but the majority of them were small shop-keepers, tailors, bootmakers, and artisans, who naturally could not find a profitable outlet for their energies in a newly opened country to which capital (except that of the Governing Company) had not yet been attracted, and a large proportion of the inhabitants of which were satisfied with a loin cloth as the sole article of their attire. Great, therefore, was their disappointment, and comparatively few remained to try their luck in the country. One class of these immigrants, however, took kindly to North Borneo—the Hakkas, an agricultural clan, many of whom have embraced the Christian religion and are, in consequence, somewhat looked down upon by their neighbours. They are a steady, hard-working body of men, and cultivate vegetable and coffee gardens in the vicinity of the Settlements and rear poultry and pigs. The women are steady, and work almost as well as the men. They may form a valuable factor in the colonization of the country and a source of cheap labour for the planters in the future.

Sir SPENCER ST. JOHN, formerly Her Britannic Majesty's Consul-General at Brunai and who knew Borneo well, in his preface to the second edition of his "Life in the Forests of the Far East," lays great stress on the suitability of North Borneo for the immigration of Chinese on a very large scale, and prophesied that "should the immigration once commence, it would doubtless assume great proportions and continue until every acre of useless jungle is cleared away, to give place to rice, pepper, gambier, sugar-cane, cotton, coffee, indigo and those other products which flourish on its fertile soil." No doubt a considerable impetus would be given to the immigration of Chinese and the introduction of Chinese as well as of European capital, were the British Government to proclaim* formally a Protectorate over the country, meanwhile the Company should try the effect of the offer of free passages from China and from Singapore and of liberal allotments of suitable land to *bonâ fide* agriculturists.

The sources of the Company's revenues have been referred to on a previous page, and may be summarised here under the following principal heads:—The "Farms" of Opium, Tobacco, Spirits, and of Pawnbroking, the Rent of the edible birds'-nest caves, Market Dues, Duties on Imports and Exports, Court Fines and Fees, Poll Tax on aborigines, House and Store Rents, profit accruing from the introduction of the Company's copper or bronze token coinage—a considerable item—Interest and Commission resulting from the Banking business carried on by the Treasury pending the establishment of a Banking Company, Land Sales and Quit-rents on land alienated, and Postal Receipts.

The Poll Tax is a source of revenue well-known in the East and not objected to by most of our natives, with whom it takes the place of the land rent which the Government of India imposes. To our aborigines a land rent would be most distasteful at present, and they infinitely prefer the Poll Tax and to be allowed to own and farm what land they like without paying premium or rent. The more civilized tribes, especially on the West coast, recognize private property in land, the boundaries of their gardens and fields being carefully marked and defined, and the property descending from fathers to children. The rate of the Poll Tax is usually $2 for married couples and $1 for adult bachelors per annum, and I believe this is about the same rate as that collected by the British Government in Burma. At first sight it has the appearance of a tax on marriage, but in the East generally women do a great deal of the out-door as well as of the indoor work, so that a married man is in a much better position than a bachelor for acquiring wealth, as he can be engaged in collecting jungle produce, or in trading, or in making money in other ways, while his womenkind are planting out or gathering in the harvest.

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* Now accomplished.

The amounts *received* by the Company for the sale of their waste lands has been as follows :—

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|---|---|
| 1882, | ... $ 16,340 |
| 1883, | ... $ 25,449 |
| 1884, | ... $ 15,460 |
| 1885, | ... $ 2,860 |
| 1886, | ... $12,035 |
| 1887,[*] | ... $14,505 |

The receipts for 1888, owing to the rush for tobacco lands already alluded to, and to the fact that the balances of the premia on lands taken up in 1887 becomes due in that year, will be considerably larger than those of any previous period.

The most productive, and the most elastic source of revenue is that derived from the Excise on the retail of opium and, with the comparatively small number of Chinese at present in the country, this amounted in 1887 to $19,980, having been only $4,537 in 1882.[†] The next most substantial and promising item is the Customs Duties on Import and Export, which from about $8,300 in 1882 have increased to $19,980 in 1887.[‡]

The local expenditure in Borneo is chiefly for salaries of the officials, the armed Constabulary and for Gaols and Public Works, the annual "rental" payable to the Sultans of Brunai and Sulu and others, the subsidizing of steamers, Medical

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[*] In 1888, $246,457.

[†] In 1888, $22,755 were realized, and the Estimate for 1890 is $70,000 for the Opium Farm.

[‡] In 1888, $22,755.

Services, Printing, Stationery, Prospecting, Experimental Gardens and Harbour and Postal Services. The designations of the principal officials employed by the Company in Borneo have been given on a previous page; the salaries allowed them, as a rule, can scarcely be called too liberal, and unfortunately the Court of Directors does not at present feel that it is justified in sanctioning any pension scheme. Those of my readers who are conversant with the working of Public Offices will recognize that this decision of the Directors deprives the service of one great incentive to hard and continuous work and of a powerful factor in the maintenance of an effective discipline, and it speaks volumes for the quality of the officials, whose services the Company has been so fortunate as to secure without this attraction, that it is served as faithfully, energetically and zealously as any Government in the world. If I may be allowed to say so here, I can never adequately express my sense of the valuable assistance and support I received from the officers, with scarcely any exception, during my six years' tenure of the appointment of Governor. An excellent spirit pervades the service and, when the occasions have arisen, there have never been wanting officers ready to risk their lives in performing their duties, without hope of rewards or distinctions, Victoria Crosses or medals.

The figures below speak for the advance which the country is making, not very rapidly, perhaps the shareholders may think, but certainly, though slowly, surely and steadily:—

Revenue in 1883, $51,654, with the addition of Land Sales, $25,449, a total of $77,103.

Revenue in 1887, $142,687, with the addition of Land Sales, $14,505, a total of $ 157,192.

Expenditure in 1883, including expenditure on Capital Account, $391,547.

Expendiure in 1887, including expenditure on Capital Account, $209,862.

For reasons already mentioned, the revenue for 1888 is expected to considerably exceed that of any previous year, while the expenditure will probably not be more and may be less than that of 1887.*

The expenses of the London office average, I believe, about £3,000 a year.

As Sir RUTHERFORD ALCOCK, their able and conscientious Chairman, explained to the shareholders at a recent meeting, "with reference to the important question of expenditure, the position of the Company was that of a man coming into possession of a large estate which had been long neglected, and which was little better than a wilderness. If any rent roll was to be derived from such a property there must be, in the first place, a large outlay in many ways before the land could be made profitable, or indeed tenantable. That was what the Company had had to do and what they had been doing; *and that had been the history of all our Colonies*." I trust that the few observations I have offered will have shewn my readers that, though British North Borneo might be described as a wilderness so far as regards the absence of development when the Company took possession of it, such a description is by no means applicable to it when regard is had to its great and undoubted natural resources.

British North Borneo not being a Crown Colony, it has to provide itself for the maintenance of order, both ashore and afloat, without assistance from the Imperial Army or Navy, except such temporary assistance as has been on two occasions accorded by Her Majesty's vessels, under circumstances which have been detailed. There are no Imperial Troops stationed either in Labuan or in any portion of Borneo, and the Company has organized an armed Police Force to act both in a military and in a civil capacity.

The numbers of their Force do not much exceed two hundred of all ranks, and are composed principally of Sikhs from the Punjaub and a few Dyaks from Sarawak—an excellent mixture for fighting purposes, the Dyaks being sufficiently courageous and expert in all the arts of jungle warfare, while the pluck and cool steadiness under fire of the Sikhs is too well-known to need comment here. The services of any number of Sikhs can, it appears, be easily obtained for this sort of work, and some years ago a party of them even took service with the native Sultan of Sulu, who, however, proved a very indifferent paymaster and was soon deserted by his mercenaries, who are the most money-grabbing lot of warriors I have ever heard of. Large bodies of Sikhs are employed and drilled as Armed Constables in Hongkong, in the Straits Settlements and in the Protected Native States of the Malay Peninsula, who, after a fixed time of service, return to their country, their places being at once taken by their compatriots, and one cannot help thinking what effect this might have in case of future disturbances in our Indian Empire, should the Sikh natives make common cause with the malcontents.

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* Revenue in 1888, $148,286, with addition of Land Sales, $246,457, a total of $394,743.

Expenditure in 1888, including Padas war expenses, $210,985, and expenditure on Capital Account, $25,283—total $236,268.

Fault has been found with the Company for not following the example of Sarawak and raising an army and police from among its own people. This certainly would have been the best policy had it only been feasible; but the attempt was made and failed.

As I have pointed out, British North Borneo is fortunate in not possessing any powerful aboriginal tribe of pronounced warlike instincts, such as the Dyaks of Sarawak.

The Muhammadan Bajows might in time make good soldiers, but my description of them will have shewn that the Company could not at present place reliance in them.

While on the subject of "fault finding," I may say that the Company has also been blamed for its expenditure on public works and on subsidies for steam communication with the outer world.

But our critics may rest assured that, had not the Company proved its faith in the country by expending some of its money on public works and in providing facilities for the conveyance of intending colonists, neither European capital nor Chinese population, so indispensable to the success of their scheme, would have been attracted to their Territory as is now being done—for the country and its new Government lacked the prestige which attaches to a Colony opened by the Imperial Government. The strange experiment, in the present day, of a London Company inaugurating a Government in a tropical Colony, perhaps not unnaturally caused a certain feeling of pique and uncharitableness in the breasts of that class of people who cannot help being pleased at the non-success of their neighbours' most cherished schemes, and who are always ready with their "I told you so." The measure of success attained by British North Borneo caused it to come in for its full share of this feeling, and I am not sure that it was not increased and aggravated by the keen interest which all the officers took in the performance of their novel duties—an interest which, quite unintentionally, manifested itself, perhaps, in a too enthusiastic and somewhat exaggerated estimate of the beauties and resources of their adopted country and of the grandeur of its future destiny and of its rapid progress, and which, so to speak, brought about a reaction towards the opposite extreme in the minds of the class to whom I refer. This enthusiasm was, to say the least, pardonable under the circumstances, for all men are prone to think that objects which intensely engross their whole attention are of more importance than the world at large is pleased to admit. Every man worth his salt thinks his own geese are swans.

A notable exception to this narrow-mindedness was, however, displayed by the Government of Singapore, especially by its present Governor, Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH, who let no opportunity pass of encouraging the efforts of the infant Government by practical assistance and unprejudiced counsel.

Lord BRASSEY, whose visit to Borneo in the *Sunbeam* I have mentioned, showed a kindly appreciation of the efforts of the Company's officers, and practically evinced his faith in the future of the country by joining the Court of Directors on his return to England.

In the number of the "Nineteenth Century" for August, 1887, is a sketch of the then position of the portion of Borneo which is under the British influence, from his pen.

As the country is developed and land taken up by European planters and Chinese, the Company will be called upon for further expenditure on public works, in the shape of roads, for at present, in the interior, there exist only rough native tracks, made use of by the natives when there does not happen to be a river handy for the transport of themselves and their goods. Though well watered enough, British North Borneo possesses no rivers navigable for European vessels of any size, except perhaps the Sibuku River, the possession of which is at the present moment a subject of dispute with the the Dutch. This is due to the natural configuration of the country. Borneo, towards the North, becoming comparatively narrow and of roughly triangular shape, with the apex to the North. The only other river of any size and navigable for vessels drawing about nine feet over the bar, is the Kinabatangan, which, like the Sibuku, is on the East side, the coast range of mountains, of which Kinabalu forms a part, being at no great distance from the West coast and so preventing the occurrence of any large rivers on that side. From data already to hand, it is calculated that the proceeds of Land Sales for 1887 and 1888 will equal the total revenue from all other sources, and a portion of this will doubtless be set aside for road making and other requisite public works.

The question may be asked what has the Company done for North Borneo?

A brief reply to this question would include the following points. The Company has paved the way to the ultimate extinction of the practice of slavery; it has dealt the final blow to the piracy and kidnapping which still lingered on its coasts; it has substituted one strong and just Government for numerous weak, cruel and unjust ones; it has opened Courts of Justice which know no distinction between races and creeds, between rich and poor, between master and slave; it is rapidly adjusting ancient blood feuds between the tribes and putting a stop to the old custom of head-hunting; it has broken down the barrier erected by the coast Malays to prevent the aborigines having access to the outer world and is thus enabling trade and its accompanying civilisation to reach the interior races; and it is attracting European and Chinese capital to the country and opening a market for British traders.

These are some, and not inconsiderable ones, of the achievements of the British North Borneo Company, which, in its humble way, affords another example of the fact that the "expansion of Britain" has been in the main due not to the exertions of its Government so much as to the energy and enterprise of individual citizens, and Sir ALFRED DENT, the the founder, and Sir RUTHERFORD ALCOCK, the guide and supporter of the British North Borneo Company, cannot but feel a proud satisfaction in the reflection that their energy and patient perseverance have resulted in conferring upon so considerable a portion of the island of Borneo the benefits above enumerated and in adding another Colony to the long list of the Dependencies of the British Crown.

In the matter of geographical exploration, too, the Company and its officers have not been idle, as the map brought out by the Company sufficiently shews, for previous maps of North Borneo will be found very barren and uninteresting, the interior being almost a complete blank, though possessing one natural feature which is conspicuous by its absence in the more recent and trustworthy one, and that is the large lake of Kinabalu, which the explorations of the late Mr. F. K. WITTI have proved to be non-existent. Two explanations are given of the origin of the myth of the Kinabalu Lake—one is that in the district, where it was supposed to exist, extensive floods do take place in very wet seasons, giving it the appearance of a lake, and, I believe there are many similar instances in Dutch Borneo, where a tract of country liable to be heavily flooded has been dignified with the name of *Danau*, which is Malay for *lake*, so that the mistake of the European cartographers is a pardonable one. The other explanation is that the district in question is known to the aboriginal inhabitants as *Danau*, a word which, in their language, has no particular meaning, but which, as above stated, signifies, in Malay, a lake. The first European visitors would have gained all their information from the Malay coast tribes, and the reason for their mistaken supposition of the existence of a large lake can be readily understood. The two principal pioneer explorers of British North Borneo were WITTI and FRANK HATTON, both of whom met with violent deaths. WITTI'S services as one of the first officers stationed in the country, before the British North Borneo Company was formed, have already been referred to, and I have drawn on his able report for a short account of the slave system which formerly prevailed. He had served in the Austrian Navy and was a very energetic, courageous and accomplished man. Besides minor journeys, he had traversed the country from West to East and from North to South, and it was on his last journey from Pappar, on the West Coast, inland to the headwaters of the Kinabatangan and Sambakong Rivers, that he was murdered by a tribe, whose language none of his party understood, but whose confidence he had endeavoured to win by reposing confidence in them, to the extent even of letting them carry his carbine. He and his men had slept in the village one night, and on the following day some of the tribe joined the party as guides, but led them into the ambuscade, where the gallant WITTI and many of his men were killed by *sumpitans*.* So far as we have been able to ascertain the sole reason for the attack was the fact that WITTI had come to the district from a tribe with whom these people were at war, and he was, therefore, according to native custom, deemed also to be an enemy. FRANK HATTON joined the Company's service with the object of investigating the mineral resources of the country and in the course of his work travelled over a great portion of the Territory, prosecuting his journeys from both the West and the East coasts, and undergoing the hardships incidental to travel in a roadless, tropical country with such ability, pluck and success as surprised me in one so young and slight and previously untrained and inexperienced in rough pioneering work.

He more than once found himself in critical positions with inland tribes, who had never seen or heard of a white man, but his calmness and intrepidity carried him safely through such difficulties, and with several chiefs he became a sworn brother, going through the peculiar ceremonies customary on such occasions. In 1883, he was ascending the Segama River to endeavour to verify the native reports of the existence of gold in the district when, landing on the bank, he shot at and wounded an elephant, and while following it up through the jungle, his repeating rifle caught in a rattan and went off, the bullet passing through his chest, causing almost immediate death. HATTON, before leaving England, had given promise of a distinguished scientific career, and his untimely fate was deeply mourned by his brother officers and a large circle of friends. An interesting memoir of him has been published by his father, Mr. JOSEPH HATTON, and a summary of his journeys and those of WITTI, and other explorers in British North Borneo, appeared in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography" for March, 1888, being the substance of a paper read before the Society by Admiral R. C. MAYNE, C.B., M.P. A memorial cross has been erected at Sandakan, by their brother officers, to the memory of WITTI, HATTON, DE FONTAINE and Sikh officers and privates who have lost their lives in the service of the Government.

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* The *sumpitan*, or native blow-pipe, has been frequently described by writers on Borneo. It is a tube 6½ feet long, carefully perforated lengthwise and through which is fired a poisoned dart, which has an extreme range of about 80 to 90 yards, but is effective at about 20 to 30 yards. It takes the place in Borneo of the bow and arrow of savage tribes, and is used only by the aborigines and not by the Muhammadan natives.

To return for a moment to the matter of fault-finding, it would be ridiculous to maintain that no mistakes have been made in launching British North Borneo on its career as a British Dependency, but then I do not suppose that any single Colony of the Crown has been, or will be inaugurated without similar mistakes occurring, such, for instance, as the withholding money where money was needed and could have been profitably expended, and a too lavish expenditure in other and less important directions. Examples will occur to every reader who has studied our Colonial history. If we take the case of the Colony of the Straits Settlements, now one of our most prosperous Crown Colonies and which was founded by the East India Company, it will be seen that in 1826-7 the "mistakes" of the administration were on such a scale that there was an annual deficit of £100,000, and the presence of the Governor-General of India was called for to abolish useless offices and effect retrenchments throughout the service.

The British North Borneo Company possesses a valuable property, and one which is daily increasing in value, and if they continue to manage it with the care hitherto exhibited, and if, remembering that they are not yet quite out of the wood, they are careful to avoid, on the one hand, a too lavish expenditure and, on the other, an unwise parsimony, there cannot, I should say, be a doubt that a fair return will, at no very distant date, be made to them on the capital they have expended.

As for the country *per se*, I consider that its success is now assured, whether it remains under the rule of the Company or is received into the fellowship of *bonâ fide* Colonies of the Empire.

In bringing to a conclusion my brief account of the Territory, some notice of its suitability as a residence for Europeans may not be out of place, as bearing on the question of "what are we to do with our boys?"

I have my own experience of seventeen years' service in Northern Borneo, and the authority of Dr. WALKER, the able Medical Officer of the Government, for saying that in its general effect on the health of Europeans, the climate of British North Borneo, as a whole, compares not unfavourably with that of other tropical countries.

There is no particular "unhealthy season," and Europeans who lead a temperate and active life have little to complain of, except the total absence of any cold season, to relieve the monotony of eternal summer. On the hills of the interior, no doubt, an almost perfect climate could be obtained.

One great drawback to life for Europeans in all tropical places is the fact that it is unwise to keep children out after they have attained the age of seven or eight years, but up to that age the climate appears to agree very well with them and they enjoy an immunity from measles, whooping cough and other infantile diseases. This enforced separation from wife and family is one of the greatest disadvantages in a career in the tropics.

We have not, unfortunately, had much experience as to how the climate of British North Borneo affects English ladies, but, judging from surrounding Colonies, I fear it will be found that they cannot stand it quite so well as the men, owing, no doubt, to their not being able to lead such an active life and to their not having official and business matter to occupy their attention during the greater part of the day, as is the case with their husbands.

Of course, if sufficient care is taken to select a swampy spot, charged with all the elements of fever and miasma, splendidly unhealthy localities can be found in North Borneo, a residence in which would prove fatal to the strongest constitution, and I have also pointed out that on clearing new ground for plantations fever almost inevitably occurs, but, as Dr. WALKER has remarked, the sickness of the newly opened clearings does not last long when ordinary sanitary precautions are duly observed.

At present the only employers of Europeans are the Governing Company, who have a long list of applicants for appointments, the Tobacco Companies, and two Timber Companies. Nearly all the Tobacco Companies at present at work are of foreign nationality and, doubtless, would give the preference to Dutch and German managers and assistants. Until more English Companies are formed, I fear there will be no opening in British North Borneo for many young Englishmen not possessed of capital sufficient to start planting on their own account. It will be remembered that the trade in the natural products of the country is practically in the hands of the Chinese.

Among the other advantages of North Borneo is its entire freedom from the presence of the larger carnivora—the tiger or the panther. Ashore, with the exception of a few poisonous snakes—and during seventeen years' residence I have never heard of a fatal result from a bite—there is no animal which will attack man, but this is far from being the case with the rivers and seas, which, in many places, abound in crocodiles and sharks. The crocodiles are the most dreaded animals, and are found in both fresh and salt water. Cases are not unknown of whole villages being compelled to remove to a distance, owing to the presence of a number of man-eating crocodiles in a particular bend of a river; this happened to the village of Sebongan on the Kinabatangan River, which has been quite abandoned.

Crocodiles in time become very bold and will carry off people bathing on the steps of their houses over the water, and even take them bodily out of their canoes.

At an estate on the island of Daat, I had two men thus carried off out of their boats, at sea, after sunset, in both cases the mutilated bodies being subsequently recovered. The largest crocodile I have seen was one which was washed ashore on an island, dead, and which I found to measure within an inch of twenty feet.

Some natives entertain the theory that a crocodile will not touch you if you are swimming or floating in the water and not holding on to any thing, but this is a theory which I should not care to put practically to the test myself.

There is a native superstition in some parts of the West Coast, to the effect that the washing of a mosquito curtain in a stream is sure to excite the anger of the crocodiles and cause them to become dangerous. So implicit was the belief in this superstition, that the Brunai Government proclaimed it a punishable crime for any person to wash a mosquito curtain in a running stream.

When that Government was succeeded by the Company, this proclamation fell into abeyance, but it unfortunately happened that a woman at Mempakul, availing herself of the laxity of the law in this matter, did actually wash her curtain in a creek, and that very night her husband was seized and carried off by a crocodile while on the steps of his house. Fortunately, an alarm was raised in time, and his friends managed to rescue him, though badly wounded; but the belief in the superstition cannot but have been strengthened by the incident.

Some of the aboriginal natives on the West Coast are keen sportsmen and, in the pursuit of deer and wild pig, employ a curious small dog, which they call *asu*, not making use of the Malay word for dog—*anjing*. The term *asu* is that generally employed by the Javanese, from whose country possibly the dog may have been introduced into Borneo. In Brunai, dogs are called *kuyok*, a term said to be of Sumatran origin.

On the North and East there are large herds of wild cattle said to belong to two species, *Bos Banteng* and *Bos Gaurus* or *Bos Sondaicus*. In the vicinity of Kudat they afford excellent sport, a description of which has been given, in a number of the "Borneo Herald," by Resident G. L. DAVIES, who, in addition to being a skilful manager of the aborigines, is a keen sportsman. The native name for them on the East Coast is *Lissang* or *Seladang*, and on the North, *Tambadau*. In some districts the water buffalo, *Bubalus Buffelus*, has run wild and affords sport.

The deer are of three kinds—the *Rusa* or *Sambur* (*Rusa Aristotelis*,), the *Kijang* or roe, and the *Plandok*, or mousedeer, the latter. a delicately shaped little animal, smaller and lighter than the European hare. With the natives it is an emblem of cunning, and there are many short stories illustrating its supposed more than human intelligence. Wild pig, the *Sus barbatus*, a kind distinct from the Indian animal, and, I should say, less ferocious, is a pest all over Borneo, breaking down fences and destroying crops. The jungle is too universal and too thick to allow of pig-sticking from horseback, but good sport can be had, with a spear, on foot, if a good pack of native dogs is got together.

It is on the East Coast only that elephants and rhinoceros, called *Gajah* and *Badak* respectively, are found. The elephant is the same as the Indian one and is fairly abundant; the rhinoceros is *Rhinoceros sumatranus*, and is not so frequently met with.

The elephant in Borneo is a timid animal and, therefore, difficult to come up with in the thick jungle. None have been shot by Europeans so far, but the natives, who can walk through the forest so much more quietly, sometimes shoot them, and dead tusks are also often brought in for sale.

The natives in the East Coast are very few in numbers and on neither coast is there any tribe of professional hunters, or *shikaris*, as in India and Ceylon, so that, although game abounds, there are not, at present, such facilities for Europeans desirous of engaging in sport as in the countries named.*

A little Malay bear occurs in Borneo, but is not often met with, and is not a formidable animal.

My readers all know that Borneo is the home of the *Orang-utan* or *Mias*, as it is called by the natives. No better description of the animal could be desired than that given by Wallace in his "Malay Archipelago." There is an excellent picture of a young one in the second volume of Dr. Guillemard's "Cruise of the Marchesa." Another curious monkey, common in mangrove swamps, is the long-nosed ape, or *Pakatan*, which possesses a fleshy probosis some three inches long. It is difficult to tame, and does not live long in captivity.

As in Sumatra, which Borneo much resembles in its fauna and flora, the peacock is absent, and its place taken by the *Argus* pheasant. Other handsome pheasants are the *Fireback* and the *Bulwer* pheasants, the latter so named after Governor Sir Henry Bulwer, who took the first specimen home in 1874. These pheasants do not rise in the jungle and are, therefore, uninteresting to the Borneo sportsman. They are frequently trapped by the natives. There are many kinds of pigeons, which afford good sport. Snipe occur, but not plentifully. Curlew are numerous in some localities, but very wild. The small China quail are abundant on cleared spaces, as also is the painted plover, but cleared spaces in Borneo are somewhat few and far between. So much for sport in the new Colony.

Let me conclude my paper by quoting the motto of the British North Borneo Company—*Pergo et perago*—I undertake a thing and go through with it. Dogged persistence has, so far, given the Territory a fair start on its way to prosperity, and the same perseverance will, in time, be assuredly rewarded by complete success.*

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* Dr. Guillemard in his fascinating book, "The Cruise of the Marchesa," states, that two English officers, both of them well-known sportsmen, devoted four months to big game shooting in British North Borneo and returned to Hongkong entirely unsuccessful. Dr. Guillemard was misinformed. The officers were not more than a week in the country on their way to Hongkong from Singapore and Sarawak, and did not devote their time to sport. Some other of the author's remarks concerning British North Borneo are somewhat incorrect and appear to have been based on information derived from a prejudiced source.

W. H. TREACHER.

P.S.—I cannot close this article without expressing my great obligations to Mr. C. V. CREAGH, the present Governor of North Borneo, and to Mr. KINDERSLEY, the Secretary to the Company in London, for information which has been incorporated in these notes.

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* In 1889, the Company declared their first Dividend.

# JOURNAL OF A COLLECTING EXPEDITION TO THE MOUNTAIN OF BATANG PADANG, PERAK.

BY

L. WRAY, JR.

ON Monday, the 6th of June, 1888, in accordance with instructions received, I left Taiping and proceeded to Telok Anson in the S.S. *Kinta,* and after seeing the baggage put on board a river-boat, and paying a visit to the Superintendent, Lower Perak, started at about 10 A.M. on the 7th for Tapa. At the half-way Resthouse I was met by a pony, and rode the rest of the way, reaching Tapa at 6.30 P.M.

The first four or five miles of road from Durian Sabatang passes through a nearly level country, which, judging from appearances, is eminently suited to the growth of padi or sugar-cane. The surface soil is rich and black, and, from what can be seen of it by inspecting the ditches, is of considerable depth. The upper part of the road near Tapa also passes through some fine land, but it is of quite a different character, being hilly and with a reddish yellow soil, light and quite sandy in places. Its quality is shown by the luxuriant growth of the various products which have been already planted, such as bananas, pepper, coco-nuts, Indian corn, &c. The latter can be planted many times in succession on the same land without manure. The rule in other parts of the State is that only one crop of this plant can be taken off even virgin forest land. So that it is evident there must be in the soil near Tapa considerable quantities of some inorganic substance which is essential to the growth of maize, and which is present in the soil of other parts of Perak only in minute quantities. The rock from which much of this soil is derived is a paleozoic schistose formation. There is also, of necessity, in the soil a considerable admixture of the detritus of the granitic formations of which the higher hills in Batang Padang, as in other parts of the State, are exclusively composed.

My party consisted of Mr. JELLAH, the Collector and Taxidermist of the Museum, a Kling called HARISON, whom I engaged to help in the collection of botanical specimens—he having had three or four years' experience in the same work with the late Mr. KUNSTLER—a Malay called MAHRASIT, and a Malay "boy" who accompanied the late Mr. CAMERON on many of his explorations. The two former came up in the boat to Tapa with the baggage, and the two latter overland with me.

The boat arrived on the evening of the 11th, having been five days and-a-half coming a distance of about 20 miles as the crow flies; and on the 12th the baggage was moved into an empty shop in the village.

The great amount of impedimenta which it is necessary to take about with one on a collecting expedition, is a most serious drawback, when once the roads are left; but without it nothing can be done, and one might just as well stay at home. The worst part of it is, that the longer the trip lasts the more the baggage increases, instead of decreasing as it does on an ordinary occasion.

Toh BIAS, the Penghulu of Tapa, having a few days before I arrived married a new wife, could not be induced to leave his bride and go to Kuala Woh to look for Sakais to carry up the baggage to Gunong Batu Puteh, till the 12th, and then he went very unwillingly, and it was six days more before they began to arrive at Tapa, and then only ten men came. My brother, Mr. CECIL WRAY, then sent to Chendariang for some, but without success. The difficulty at that time in obtaining Sakais was that they were all felling and burning the jungle to plant rice for the next season's crop.

During this enforced stay at Tapa, we went out every day collecting, and got 32 species of plants, 27 bird skins, and 3 mammals, besides many insects. I also took some photographs of some of the most typical of the Sakais.

On the 25th we were able to leave Tapa. We then had 22 Sakais, and the heavy baggage had to be put into two boats and poled up the river to Kuala Woh, which place we reached after a walk of two and-a-half hours, the track crossing the Batang Padang River twice. The whole way, wherever there was an opening in the jungle, we met with swarms of yellow butterflies. There must have been millions of them spread over the country. In places they were settled so thickly that the ground could not be seen. Some of these patches were two and three feet in diameter, and after driving away the butterflies the ground was quite yellow from pieces of their wings and dead ones. I have never seen such a sight before, almost any sweep of a butterfly net would catch a dozen or more. In the afternoon it came on to blow, just before a shower of rain, and all the butterflies at once took up positions on the undersides of the leaves of trees and plants and on the lee sides of the stems and roots. They were all of one species of Terias *(Terias hecabe)*, and the Malays said that they had appeared about a week before we saw them. The whole of the next day's march they were quite as numerous, though we rose to an altitude of 1,130 feet above sea level, and they were also fairly common as high as the camp on Gunong Batu Puteh, which we reached on the day after.

Almost the whole of the land passed through, lying between Tapa and Kuala Woh, is of most excellent quality, a great deal of it being covered with bamboo forest. The bamboo seemed to belong to one species only, and is known by the Malay name of *buluh telor*.

The track passes through several Sakai clearings, one of which was in a most creditable state of cultivation. In another there was a typical Sakai house on very tall posts and with a considerable sized raised platform on a level with the *lanti* floor. There were also two Sakai graves near the track. They were raised like the Malay ones, and well taken care of. On them were the remains of fruit, flowers, Indian corn, coco-nut shells, bottle-gourds, roots, &c., which had been placed there probably as offerings to the dead.

One of the boats containing the baggage arrived at Kuala Woh at 5 P. M., having been eight hours on the way, and the other did not arrive till about 6 A. M. on the morning of the 26th, and at 9 A. M. on that day we started up the valley of the

Woh with 21 Sakais as baggage carriers, but as they could take only a small part of it, I was forced to leave a great quantity at Kuala Woh in charge of JELLAH and HARISON.

For the first few miles after leaving Kuala Woh, the jungle is almost exclusively bamboo. This land is undulating and of fine quality, but it ends at Changkat Berchilding, and then the track passes over some considerable hills and down into some valleys of which the soil is apparently good, but the slopes are steep and the Sakais have spoiled large portions of it by making *ladangs.*

It is as well to mention that there is no reason why the track should go over all these hills, except that native tracks always do go over the extreme tops of all hills which are anywhere near the line of route.

We reached the foot of Gunong Batu Puteh at 12.50 P. M., and camped for the night on the banks of the Woh. This place is 1,030 feet above sea level. The thermometer showed the following temperatures:—at 3 P. M. 70° F., and at 9 P. M. 72°, and at another visit on August 7th it showed at 2.15 P. M. 78°, at 5 P. M. 72°, and the next morning at 6 A. M. 68°.

At the foot of Batu Puteh, bamboo jungle again appears, and as this is at an elevation of 1,030 feet, it would be most valuable tea land if of sufficient extent, and looked at from the top of the rocky spur on Gunong Batu Puteh it seems to be of considerable area. In fact a track of bamboo jungle appears to run right up the valley of the Woh from its kuala to the camp, and possibly much farther.

At 7.40 A. M. on the 27th we left the camp on the Woh and reached the south-west spur of Gunong Batu Puteh at 12.50 P. M. This spot is 4,300 feet above sea level by aneroid, and is the place on which the previous expedition camped.

Having set all hands to work re-making the old huts, we climbed the rock on the top of the spur, but the driving clouds hid almost everything, and we had several sharp showers of rain while there. There were firs, myrtles and other mountain plants on the top and sides of the rock, and we found a few pretty ground orchids, one in particular with a bunch of large yellow flowers on a stalk two or three feet high, and a white flowered species which is common on the summit of Gunong Hijau in Larut.

It rained the greater part of the night, and as the hut was not weather-tight we got very wet, cold and miserable. The next morning, the 28th, was cloudy and cold, with frequent showers of rain, so that not much could be done in any direction. Eleven of the Sakais ran away early in the morning, leaving us with only 10 men. Four of these men, and a Malay I engaged at Tapa, were sent down to Kuala Woh to bring up some more baggage and the remaining six with the Malays began putting the house in order and trying to make it waterproof.

I went out into the jungle, but only saw a few birds, which were all of the same species as those I previously collected on the Larut hills. In the afternoon, as it seemed to be clearing up, we ascended the rock again, which by the bye is a very stiff climb, and got a fleeting sight between the masses of drifting cloud of the real top of the mountain, which I estimated to be at least 2,000 feet higher than the top of the rock, which is 400 feet above the camp.

From the rocky point, a splendid view is to be had, comprising almost the whole district of Batang Padang, and further in the distance Lower Perak, the Dindings and the Larut hills, Bujang Malaka and the hills to the north end off Kinta, and the summit of Batu Puteh itself hides the northern continuation of the main range.

Looking down from this rock, there appears to be a nice piece of planting land at about 2,000 or 2,500 feet elevation. It does not seem steep, and there is a fine stream near it. It is situated in the valley formed by the spur on which I then was, on the one side, and the spur extending out in the direction of Gunong Brapit on the other. Most of the higher lands on Batu Puteh are very steep, although of fine quality as far as soil goes.

On the rocks near the summit, a quantity of a plant called *chimbuai* grows. This plant is much valued by the Malays, as it is supposed to act as a love-philter. It probably belongs to the *Ophioglossaceæ*, and is a delicate rush-like plant about three inches high, having its spores in little tassels on the tops of the leaves.

The next day, the 29th, I took a photograph of the camp and Sakais, and took the measures of the latter, and at about noon Mr. C. WRAY and all the Sakais left. The former had gone up with the intention of trying to make the ascent of the real summit of Batu Puteh, but the running away of the Sakais and the bad weather rendered this impossible.

MAHRASIT and the "boy" went on with the house, but as there were only small palm leaves to be had at that elevation, it was not easy to make a weather-tight house, and if it had not been for the waterproof sheets kindly lent by the Commissioner, Perak Sikhs, I do not know how we should have got on, as the preservation of botanical and other specimens would have been almost impossible.

On the 30th six Sakais came up with more things, and on the 1st July, JELLAH, HARISON and 9 Sakais arrived. From this day to the 7th I have nothing particular to record. During that time the remainder of the baggage arrived, and I had drying stages put up for sunning plants, cut a track in a northerly direction across to another ridge, and collected birds, plants and insects. I had one of the Malay ground bird-traps set, first in one place, and then in another, but without any result.

I had hopes that there might have been some representatives of the Indian hill pheasants, partridges and other ground birds on the Perak mountains, but if there are any we failed to catch them. The trap that I used consists of a small hedge made of branches and leaves with openings every few yards. On the ground aross the openings are placed light wicker-work frames, which being trodden on, release bent sticks, which are attached to nooses laid on the frames and which the bent sticks draw up, so as to catch the legs of any birds which may tread on the frames. I also had an English trap, the "Rutland," but it also caught nothing.

I was fortunate enough, on the 6th, to shoot a fine example of the Black Eagle *(Neopus malayensis)* not far from camp.

A pair of them were circling round the tops of some tall trees in the jungle, and I brought down the female. It measured 5 feet 10 inches across the wings, and its plumage was far darker than that of the two specimens I obtained last year on the Larut hills, but it is evidently of the same species. In its stomach I found two eggs and the half digested remains of a rat. The presence of the eggs shows it to have the same habit of robbing the nests of other birds as its Indian congener.

On the 8th I started at 8 A. M. with MAHRASIT, HARISON and a Sakai along the track to the North, which I have already mentioned, and then struck up the spur until we reached the top of the ridge joining the western peak with the main hill, and then followed that ridge, which runs in an easterly direction up and down hills until we came to the Batu Puteh itself, after which it was nearly all steady up-hill work. We had to cut a track the whole way through a particularly thick and thorny undergrowth, and it was 2 P. M. before we reached the extreme summit, which the aneroid made 6,700 feet above sea level.

I took up my gun in the hopes of getting some new birds, but only saw a few of one species, one specimen of which I shot. It is a *Mesia* of a species I have not seen before. Although I was disappointed in the matter of birds, still had I not taken the gun we should not, on that occasion, have reached the top of the hill, for a tiger had preceded us by a few hours, from the ridge right up to the very summit of the mountain, and as may be imagined, there was not any anxiety amongst my companions to follow up the tracks, and they would most certainly have refused to do so if there had been no fire arms amongst the party, though for that matter, as I had no ball cartridges, it would have been no earthly use, but for obvious reasons I kept this fact to myself. Only two days before a tiger, probably the same one, was seen by HARISON not 200 yards from the camp in the middle of the day.

It seems strange to find tigers in such a place, for there appeared to be absolutely no game, not a single track of a pig, deer or any other animal having been seen by us during our stay on Gunong Batu Puteh.

The forest near the top of the mountain is most curious, consisting of twisted, stunted, wind-blown trees covered all over with a dense shaggy coating of moss, the ground, rocks, roots and dead trees being all hidden in the same manner. The moss is of all tints of greens, greenish-yellow, browns, red-browns and pinks, and is of many kinds. Some of them being extremely elegant, both in form and colouring. Such a luxuriant and beautiful growth of moss I had never seen before. In the scrub near the summit, *Rhododendrons* of many species are common, one of them growing into quite a large tree, but unfortunately no flowers of this plant could be found. Another species has the petals of the flower yellow and the tube orange-red, another white, and a pretty little round-leaved one has crimson flowers.

An orchid of considerable beauty grows not far from the top, and seems to be a very free flowerer. It is a purplish flowered *Dendrobium*. I also collected some plants of a very pretty *Anæctochilus;* it resembles *A. setaceus* very closely, but the leaves instead of being dark red-brown veined with yellow, are rather pale velvety green, with pure white veining. Unfortunately it was not in flower, so I had to take the plants, which when planted in baskets may, if they live, yield flowers, and the species may ultimately be determined. In all we collected over 50 botanical specimens, and had there been time and some more men to carry them we might have got many more.

It was a beautifully fine day, but the distance, as is so often the case in dry, hot weather, was rather hazy. The view, however, from the summit was splendid, but it is quite impossible to describe it, and owing to want of time, I could not make any sketches. To the East, looking down into Pahang, there is nothing to be seen in the way of mountains, as far as the eye could reach. The country seems to consist of large broad valleys, with a few ranges of small hills. On these hills we could see many Sakai clearings as well as clearings in the valleys, which are probably Malay. The thickness of the range at this point is very little. I should not think it can be more than eight miles. To the South no large hills are visible for many miles, but to the North the hill country expands and broadens out, and peak upon peak can be made out stretching away into the far distance.

Gunong Batu Puteh is, therefore, the end of the range of higher hills going southwards, though the range again rises into some lofty peaks in Slim.

Having collected all the plants we could carry, we returned, reached the camp again at 6 P.M., having been 10 hours on the tramp.

The next day, the 9th, I spent in putting the previous day's collection of plants into paper, and on the 10th I took three photographs from the rocky ridge connecting the spur with the main mountains—one of the rocks which form the top of the spur, one of the summit of Batu Puteh, and one of the hills looking over in the direction of Gunong Bujang Malaka.

The next day I looked over the dried plants and put all those which were dry into Chinese paper, and sent them down to Tapa on the 12th. Up to that time I had collected 241 species of plants and 61 specimens of birds. One serious drawback to the place was the great quantity of blow-flies, which, unless great care was taken, spoiled all the bird-skins, as well as woollen clothes, blankets, food, &c. The strange thing about these flies is the question where they can be bred in the jungle, for, as I have already noticed, there is such a great scarcity of animal life, and consequently there can be but little decomposing matter for them to breed in.

Woollen things are evidently taken by them for the fur of animals, hence dead animals are clearly the natural food of the larvæ of these flies. Last year, near the Resident's Cottage, I shot a *krekah* monkey, and hung it up to a tree till I returned, which was in about one hour's time, when it was flecked all over with white eggs; but the blow-flies are not anything like so numerous on the Larut hills as they are on those of Batang Padang, probably because they are lower. The lowest altitude at which they are met with seem to be 3,600 feet, but they are not abundant till 4,000 feet is reached.

On the 15th I went down the hill (900 feet by aneroid) and fixed on a site for a new camp, and set the men to work felling the jungle. This place seemed to be more frequented by birds than the higher and bleaker camp, which was not at all a good collecting station for birds, and by that time I had about exhausted all the plants that were in fruit or flower near it. A good number of the trees felled were either in fruit or flower and I was able to add them to my collection.

On the top of one tree was a rather pretty *Vanda* with red flowers spotted with a darker shade of the same colour; and on another was a wild raspberry in full fruit. A tree top is certainly one of the last places on which one would have looked for raspberries.

On the 17th sixteen Sakais came up to carry my things down to Tapa, and I arranged with them to get attaps and finish felling the jungle on the new site on the 18th, on the morning of which day I went down with them, and then up again to the camp and from there to the rock on the top of the spur and afterwards to the gorge to the North of the camp to collect orchids and ferns to take down for the Resident. Then packed them up in baskets and also packed up the bird-skins and put the day's collection of botanical specimens in paper, cleaned guns, and made other preparations for leaving on the morrow.

Up to that time 77 birds and 320 species of plants had been collected, and the object of going down to Tapa was to properly dry and pack away this large collection, and free the pressing paper, so as to be able to use it again.

I had been away from Tapa about a month, and I must say it had been anything but a pleasant time; for the hut was of the leakiest, draughtiest and most uncomfortable description for the bleak climate at that altitude, it being made of rattan and small palm leaves—the only material available within a distance of three or four miles. The temperature ranged from 56° to 68° in the house, and the wind, rain and mist drifted right through it.

Most of my party were out of sorts, and I rather hesitated as to leaving, but transport is so difficult to get that I decided to risk it. JELLAH had ague, MAHRASIT nettle-rash and swollen legs and feet, HARISON bad legs, and the "boy" a very much inflamed and swollen eye. I gave a supply of medicine to JELLAH, and the boy and HARISON were doctored at Tapa.

While at the upper camp I had an attack of what is known as hill diarrhœa, a disease often met with at the Himalayan hill stations of Simla and Nynee Tal, but I do not think that it has been recorded in the Malay Peninsula before.

At about 8 A. M. on the 19th I left the camp with HARISON, the "boy" and 18 Sakais, and reached Kuala Woh at 2 P. M. The Sakais were too tired to go on any farther that day, and so I forded the Woh and went with the "boy" only to Breumen, and after much trouble got a boat and reached Tapa at 7 P. M.

The exposures of rock along the banks of the Batang Padang River from Kuala Woh to Tapa are all, as far as I saw, of the ancient stratified series. The beds are much twisted, contorted and upheaved, in places the strata being nearly vertical.

Overlying these rocks are usually thick beds of river sands, similar to that on which the village of Tapa stands. In places these beds rise to 30 feet above the level of the river.

The rock exposures on the Woh are all apparently granitic. The granite there and on Gunong Batu Puteh from base to extreme summit is a coarse grained rock, with large white felspar crystals and largely mixed with dull blue quartz. The sand in the streams derived from this rock is very characteristic, being quite blueish in appearance. The subsoil formed by its decomposition is also much redder than that formed by the granite of the Larut hills. The surface soil both there and in other parts of Perak seems to depend, in a great measure, as regards its vegetable constituents or humus, on the presence or absence of white ants (*termites*). When the height at which these insects cease to thrive is passed on the hills, a very marked difference in the colour and depth of the surface soil is noticeable, and the same thing is to be seen in the low country in swampy land which is unsuited to their existence.

That the soil is really any poorer for its loss of vegetable matter is not at all certain, for the inorganic constituents of the humus are still present, though they have been altered by passing through an animal organism. This may account for the fertility of some of the apparently very poor soils to be seen in some parts of the State.

Nothing particular happened during the walk down from Gunong Batu Puteh beyond the usual experiences of a long jungle tramp, except that near Kuala Woh I saw in the middle of the track just in front of me the head of a black cobra looking out from under a root; a knock on the neck with my walking stick rendering it powerless. I got it out of its hole, and while the "boy" way looking for a piece of jungle root to carry it by, another smaller one glided out of the same hole, passed me and took to the river before I had time to stop it.

The first one being a fine large specimen and quite uninjured, I took it to Tapa and put it into spirits. These black cobras are fairly common in Batang Padang, but are very scarce in other parts of Perak, so scarce that I had never seen any till I went there.

I have called it a cobra, but it is not quite certain that it is referable to the genus *Naga*. Possibly it may be a black variety of the *Hamadryad*, but if so it must either not attain a large size, or it must quite change its livery as it grows older; for I was informed that it is unknown of a larger size than between 5 and 6 feet.

The next day, the 20th, the Sakais brought on the baggage from Kuala Woh, and I had the plants unpacked and put out into the sun to dry as soon as possible. They seemed in good condition, and there was no sign of their having heated, as half-dried botanical specimens have a very unpleasant way of doing, when packed up for long in this climate. I then went to work on the live plants, which I brought down with me, and by the next day they, together with a quantity more that Mr. C. WRAY had collected, were all planted and packed up and sent down the river in a boat to Telok Anson.

Mr. C. WRAY and I went on the 22nd to see the new mine at Chendariang. We left at between 7 and 8 A. M., and reached Naga Bharu at 11 A. M., and from there went to the Sri Muka mines. There are two very distinct varieties of tin-sand obtained from these mines. The one being black, fine-grained and bright-looking; while the other is reddish, brown, or white and very coarse-grained, varying from pieces the size of the tip of the little finger to masses 100 or so pounds in weight.

I think it may safely be predicted that when *lampan* workings are carried on, on the hills near Sri Muka, that some lodes of considerable size and richness will be discovered; for undoubtedly these large blocks of tin ore must have come from such lodes, and probably at no very great distance from their present resting place. The fine-grained black tin-sand, I imagine, has been derived either from another formation, or, more probably, it may have been disseminated through the body of the rock, and the pale-coloured coarse-grained sand and blocks of ore from lodes running through the same formation.

I bought one fine large lump of tin ore besides some smaller ones for the Museum, and engaged a Chinese cooly to carry them to Tapa.

The mine which is turning out so well, is that which formerly belonged to the Shanghai Company, and is within a hundred yards of the Manager's old house. We saw a large quantity of tin-sand and also a good many slabs of tin, and we were informed that the owners estimated the sand then raised would yield 70 bharas of tin.

There seems every reason to suppose that there is a very large extent of land equally as good as this piece has turned out to be, and that this valley will take many years to work out, the area being quite as large as the Larut tin mining districts of Tupai, Taiping and Kamunting.

The only drawback to the place is the transport. At the time I was there, the river was so low that boats could not go up it, and the road to Tapa was little more than begun.

In consequence of this, the shops were all shut up, as they had nothing left to sell, and the chief Towkay told us he only had 30 bags of rice left, and that he had 300 coolies to feed, and in a few days if the drought continued he would have to begin carrying rice from Tapa, a distance of between 8 and 9 miles over about as vile a track as can well be imagined. The usual price of rice is from 3½ to 4 *gantangs* per dollar, but at the time I am speaking of, it was not to be had cheaper than 3 *gantangs*.

The opening up of this district depends entirely on the completion of the cart-road from Tapa, for at all times the Chendariang River is very difficult to navigate, and in times of drought it is shut up altogether. It usually takes a cargo boat 20 days to go from Telok Anson to Chendariang, a distance by road (when made) of only twenty-nine miles. The high price of provisions, consequent on this expensive transport, is a serious tax on the miners, and it speaks a great deal for the extreme richness of the land, that any mining can be carried on with profit. Though at the same time it is evident that only the best of the land can be now worked, and that therefore the State is the loser of a great deal of revenue, as land which has had all the best parts of it worked out will not pay to re-open and will probably be unworked for many years to come.

With the exception of the first two miles, which has in great part a laterite subsoil, lithologically identical with the exposure on the road to Kamunting near Drummond's house, the land the whole way along the track from Tapa to Chendariang is of splendid quality and admirably suited for any low country cultivation. A great part of this land is covered with forest *(rimba)*, and only a small part with *bluka*. The Chendariang valley above Naga Bharu is well suited to wet padi cultivation, and there are now in existence some considerable *bendangs,* which as there is an abundant supply of water and level land, may be enlarged to a great extent without much trouble.

Before leaving the mines, I looked over the heaps of mining metal, and found a few interesting mineralogical specimens, and on returning collected a good many botanical specimens. At one place along the road the telegraph line was hanging near the ground and touching a small sapling and at about 60 feet distance it was attached to an insulator fastened to the trunk of a tree. Running up the sapling and along the wire to the distant tree, were hundreds of red-ants *(keringa)* carrying green caterpillars each about one inch long; six or eight ants to one caterpillar. The caterpillars were very numerous, and all of one species.

On the 23rd I was all day shifting plants that were dry into Chinese paper and tying them up ready to pack up in boxes.

I did not collect any more plants, as my object was to get as large a stock of empty paper to take up the hill again as possible, because the hill plants are more likely to be unknown than those of the plains.

From this date to the 2nd of August, I continued drying botanical specimens and transferring them into Chinese paper when dry enough, and dried and packed up the bird-skins.

On the 3rd August I sent off the baggage up the river from Tapa in a boat, and then followed overland to Kuala Woh. On the road near Breumen I collected flowering specimens of the bamboo which forms the greater part of the bamboo forests. It goes by the native name of *buluh telor*, and has a stem usually striped with pale greenish white of 2½ inches or so in diameter, and forty to sixty feet long.

I reached Woh at about 4 P.M., and the boat half-an-hour afterwards. On arrival I was greatly disappointed to find that though Toh BIAS had assured me there were Sakais at Kuala Woh awaiting me, not one man was to be found. I was told that Toh BIAS had neither been there himself to collect them, nor had he sent any one else to do so. It was not till Sunday, the 7th, that enough Sakais were got together to carry up the baggage. During these three days I collected plants and visited some of the Sakai *ladangs* near Woh.

The parcelling out of the baggage to the Sakais is always a work of time. They all, of course, look out for the lightest packages, and you find them going off and leaving a good half of it behind. Then comes a re-arrangement and perhaps a second and even a third before it is equally divided, but afterwards there is no more trouble, each man keeping to his own load. I had one little box of shot which took some of the men in in a most ridiculous manner. They all thought it a charming little package until they came to try its weight. At 9.45 on the morning of the 7th, having distributed the baggage, we left Kuala Woh and reached the camp at Ulu Woh at 12.30 P.M., and on the following morning at 7.30 A.M. started again and passed the new camp on Batu Puteh at 10 A.M., and reached the higher one at noon.

On the morning of the 9th we found that eleven of the fifteen Sakais had left during the night, so that we only had four left to help carrying the baggage up to the top of the hill. We left the camp at 8 A.M., and halted at noon at a cave I had noticed on my first visit, and which seemed likely to form a shelter from the rain. It was not exactly a cave, but a cavity formed by one huge rock lying on and supported on either side by two other masses of rock. The space beneath it was about 30 feet long by 10 feet wide, and from

5 feet high on one side to about one foot on the other. Having set the men to work to cut wood to make a *lanti* floor and a wall of sticks and leaves to keep out some of the wind, we went on up to the summit, but it was so thick and cloudy that nothing could be seen. However, we collected a quantity of plants and returned to the cave at a quarter past three and shortly afterwards it began to rain, and continued raining nearly the whole of the time we were up there.

I have before mentioned that the fresh tracks of a tiger were seen on the first ascent of this hill and on the second they were again seen. In fact the tiger had been right through the cave in which we camped. The presence of fresh marks on two occasions with an interval of a month between them seems to show that the higher hills of Perak are regularly inhabited by tigers. I have previously often seen tracks on the Larut hills, but then they are more than two thousand feet lower. The last time I was at the Resident's Cottage I noticed that the same habit which is common amongst domestic cats, of eating grass as an emetic, is also in vogue amongst the larger felidæ; but as grass was not at hand, rattan leaves had been eaten instead, and apparently with equally satisfactory results as regards the patient.

A fact which does not seem to be in conformity with the generally received ideas of the habits of the gibbons, is that on both of my ascents of the summit of Gunong Batu Puteh I heard the cries of *siamangs* at between 6 and 7,000 feet altitude. One would have thought that the climate was too cold and bleak for such delicate animals, but it appears that they can and do voluntarily stand a considerable degree of cold without any inconvenience. It is, therefore, probable that want of exercise and proper food has been the real difficulty in the way of sending them to Europe, and not the climate.

At the higher camp they were to be heard nearly every day, and on one occasion they were making a great noise in the middle of the night, which, by the bye, was a moonless one. On the other hand the whole time I afterwards stayed at the lower camp I never heard them once.

In the evening the wind rose and howled through the cave, making us all shiver again with the cold.

The Sakais made a large fire in the end of the cave opposite to that from which the wind came, and they and the Kling sat shivering and groaning round it all night and the rest of us had very little sleep, for besides the cold and wet, the *lanti* floor was slanting and made of the most crooked, windblown and uncomfortable pieces of wood that could be well imagined.

When it began to get light on the morning of the 10th the wind and mist were still drifting through the cave, everything inside it was glistening with dew-like drops of water, and the rain was still falling outside. Then that most trying of all trying jungle operations had to be gone through—that is, getting out of bed and into one's cold sopping wet clothes of the day before.

At about 8 A. M. we again went to the summit and stayed there about an hour and-a-half, but instead of clearing, the fog got thicker and the rain heavier and so we returned to the cave and packed up the plants and the other things and then as the rice was all finished proceeded down the hill to the camp, the rain continuing heavily the whole way.

The summit, looked at from Tapa, gives the impression that it is rounded in outline and of considerable area, but in reality it is a sharp, thin ridge running in a N. N. E. & S. S. Westerly direction and if viewed from either of these directions it would probably present a pointed, conical appearance.

The following temperatures were taken at the cave:—12.30 P. M. 58°, 3.15 P. M. 57°, 6 P. M. 56°, 7 A. M. 55°, 9.30 A. M. 56°. I am sorry I had no minimum thermometer with me, as it must have gone down in the night several degrees lower than the reading here recorded. I should think that on the grass on the summit, during clear, calm, starlight nights, the freezing point must sometimes be reached.

On our arrival at the camp we found letters containing the sad news of Mr. EVANS' death from cholera at Tapa on the 7th and in consequence Mr. C. WRAY, who had joined me at Kuala Woh on the 6th and made the ascent of Batu Puteh in the hopes of getting a view, went straight on down the hill to the camp on the Woh. Mr. EVANS arrived in Tapa on the day I left, and I saw him for a few minutes at the Rest House. Almost all those who have been engaged in the work I have been doing, have died within the last nine months. That is, Messrs. SCORTECHINI, KUNSTLER, CAMERON, and now Mr. EVANS.

I found when I came to put the collection of plants into paper, that they numbered 34 species, so that although owing to the state of the weather we were not able to make any topographical notes, the number of plants compensated, in a measure, for the discomforts of the trip.

In the evening HARISON was taken ill with diarrhœa, and was writhing and groaning with violent pains in the stomach, which we thought might be the beginning of an attack of cholera, but it fortunately passed off after one dose of chlorodyne and brandy, which quieted him and sent him off to sleep.

Six Sakais had come up in the afternoon with the remainder of the things, which they left at the lower camp, and on the 11th they carried down the baggage from the upper camp, and we all moved down in the afternoon. Unfortunately JELLAH had an attack of fever, and MAHRASIT was laid up with swollen feet and legs, thus reducing the workers by two. Quite close to the house was a tall tree which had been partly cut through, but had not fallen, so I got the Sakais to go on cutting it, as the cut had been begun so high up the stem that my remaining Malay would not attempt it, for it required the agility of a monkey to climb down from the stage to get clear of the tree when falling. The wood was very tough and hard and it was not till about 8 o'clock that it came crashing down. For about an hour or so the Sakais had to work by the light of *dammars*. Next morning (12th) I found it was a species of oak, and obtained fruiting specimens of it and of three other trees knocked down by it. I also collected 21 other species of plants, and caught a butterfly, a new species of the genus *Loxura*, besides several other insects. That rare and beautiful butterfly *Clerome fannula* seemed to be quite common, and also a *Delias* nearly allied to *D. parthenope*. The latter extends up to the summit and was the only butterfly I noticed there. *Clerome fannula* I find to be a very variable species, the variation being present in both sexes. The extremes of variation I took at first to be distinct species, but a larger series of specimens showed that there were intermediate, connecting links, joining the two.

I found that a considerable portion of the flora of the higher mountains was continued down to quite moderate altitudes, but whereas on the summits of the hills it grows in the ground, lower down it grows on the tops of tall trees. In felling the jungle for the lower camp many rhododendrons, nepenthes, myrtles and other plants which occur on the extreme summits of the hills were found. This seems to show that temperature is not so essential to their growth as free exposure to the sunlight and air, and that epiphytism may be only an acquired habit in many and perhaps in all plants.

On the 13th and 14th the house and drying stages for sunning the botanical specimens were finished, and collecting was carried on. I obtained a snake that I have not seen before, in the attaps of the house, with a sharp dorsal ridge and light red eyes; also a tree frog of the same species as the one I collected on the Larut hills last year *(Phrynella pulchra, Blgr.)*. These little creatures live in holes in trees, and at night make the whole jungle of the hills resound with their pretty flute-like notes. They are in appearance something like little brown bladders with four legs, the head forming only a slight projection between the front legs. They are very difficult to collect, as they refuse to quit their holes, which by the way are usually high up in the trees, and it was not till I hit on a method of expelling them that I was certain as to what produced the nightly chorus of musical notes. This method is to climb up the tree and fill the hole with water, then drop in some salt. In a minute or two out hops the little frog, and if it is well washed in fresh water it is none the worse for its saline bath, as I have proved by keeping several of them alive for some weeks afterwards to watch their habits. At the higher camp on Batu Puteh they are very scarce, apparently it is the top of the zone inhabited by them and the bottom seems to be reached at a little below 3,000 feet, so that it may be said that their range is from slightly below 3,000 feet to a little above 4,000 feet. Higher up the hills their place is taken by a species with a loud, deep, low-pitched booming but musical note, and lower down by a species with a note resembling that of the common crow, repeated twice. The lower limits of this species I have not ascertained but I cannot recall hearing it below 2,000 feet. These heights hold good both here and on the Larut Hills, and, therefore, I presume generally in this part of the Peninsula, and as these zones seem to be much more constant than those formed by various plants, in the absence of an aneroid, the "frog barometer" may be very advantageously employed in the rough estimation of altitudes.

I captured an extremely beautiful leaf-like grasshopper. It was pale emerald green with claret edging to the wings and claret legs and cheeks. On the body and wings were rows of dark centred blue spots and the feet were bright yellow. It measured 4½ inches in length and had black and white banded antennæ, 8 inches long. It was one of the most elegantly coloured insects that could be imagined, but the colouring is almost certain to fade in drying, as it unfortunately nearly always does in this class of insect.

I caught a specimen of a rare *Mycalesis* and a very handsome *Elymnias;* an almost perfect mimic of the common *Euplœa midamus.* I watched it for some time flying about, but fancying it a common insect left it alone. Afterwards when it was settled I examined it more closely thinking it might be the rarer *E. mulciber* which is distinguished by having no marginal row of white spots on the posterior wings, but the row of spots was there; then I noticed that the margins of these wings were serrated, which being a character absent in the *Daniœdæ*, I at once caught it and found it to be an *Elymnias.* Two other rare butterflies were also obtained, a *Stiboges nymphidia* and a species of the genus *Prioneris.* The latter being almost certainly a new insect.

From the 15th to the 22nd we continued collecting as well as possible, but owing to the rain we could not go out much, and the rain also caused much trouble in our attempts to dry the botanical specimens. All hands being continually at work putting them out in the sun and bringing them in again to escape the frequent showers of rain.

Amongst other plants that were collected during this time was a singular anonaceous, tree, which had long, flexible, leafless branches on the lower part of the stem.

These branches reached down to the earth and, for a great part of their length, were buried and out of sight, but the extreme ends stood up nearly vertically from the ground at perhaps 6 or 7 feet from the tree and bore pretty sweet scented, cream coloured flowers and bunches of dark velvety brown coloured fruit. The object of such an arrangement and the causes which have led to it form a scientific puzzle well worthy of solution.

On the 21st I went up to the higher camp, and from there to the rock on the top of the spur, and found a very handsome *Rhododendron* in flower; it was quite a small bush and was growing on a piece of moss-covered rock. The flowers, which were nearly two inches across, were borne in large bunches and were of a colour resembling the yellow *Allamanda* commonly grown in the gardens in the Straits. I brought down the root and planted it in a basket and I also brought down young plants of 5 or 6 other species, some of which I had previously planted in baskets while living at the higher camp. Near the place where the *Rhododendron* was growing were three roots of a large and pretty fern, the fronds were about sixteen feet long and the stem was covered with a blueish bloom. The spores were contained in small oval capsules, which opened by a single slit along their greater diameter. These were the only three plants of this beautiful fern I had then seen, though on the hills near Ulu Batang Padang I afterwards saw others. On the way down while going after a monkey I came upon a large fir tree of a different species to that which is so common on the summit. It had light, graceful, feathery branches and the leaves were extremely minute. In appearance it is much like the *Casuarina* that is so much grown in Penang. Unfortunately it was not in fruit, nor did a prolonged search beneath it reward us with any old cones.

I had the bird trap set again, but without success. Among other birds shot during this time was a large and handsome red-headed trogon. This may be *Harpactes erythrocephalus*, Gould., which is recorded from the hills of Eastern Bengal, the Himalayas and the hills of Tenasserim, but has not been met with in the Malay Peninsula as yet. Another was a broadbill, closely allied to, but apparently distinct from, *Corydon* *sumatranus,* Kaffl., also a blue-backed flycatcher, a red and a green-backed, yellow-crested woodpecker. Most of these will, I hope, turn out to be either new or at least new to the Peninsula. I also succeeded in catching two more of the little tree frogs I have already mentioned, and three of a much larger frog which, however, has nearly the same habits and vocal powers. It is of a very rugged appearance and of a chocolate colour with cherry red hands and feet and beneath it is mottled with black and white.

It has been identified provisionally by Dr. A. GÜNTHER as *Polypedates leprosus.* When on the trunk of a tree it is quite invisible, from its exact resemblance both in colour and texture to a piece of reddish brown bark, and is a very good example of mimicry of an inanimate object. This frog was spawning, and last year near the Resident's Cottage on the Larut Hills, in the month of September, I found a quantity of its tadpoles. The spawn is a jelly-like mass deposited just above the water line on the wooden sides of the hole.

There is on Batu Puteh a rather pretty snail. The shell is light brown with a white stripe running round it, bordered on each side by a band of green. It appears to belong to the *Helicidæ* and in a full grown specimen, measures nearly 2 inches in diameter. It is evidently nearly allied to the large *Helix* which occurs on the higher parts of the Larut Hills. Near the extreme summit of Batu Puteh I found a snail of a species I have not seen before.

At this time I suffered a good deal from the bites of a minute mite, probably a *Tetranychus,* which produced inflamed lumps all over me, each lump lasting for several days and itching and smarting intolerably, particularly at nights. This insect has much the same effect as the well known English "harvest bug" which is also a *Tetranychus.* Ticks of both the large and small variety were unpleasantly abundant in the jungle near the camp, but fortunately leeches were seldom met with.

On the 22nd in climbing up out of a steep rocky ravine, with a gun in one hand and some fungi I had just been collecting in the other, I slipped and fell, giving my back a strain which kept me in for the next two days and hurt more or less for over a month afterwards.

The 23rd and 24th were both very wet days, and on the latter it hardly stopped raining at all, so that not much could be done ; but I had some trees cut down to get a specimen of the gigantic rattan known by the Malay name of *rotan kumbah.*

It was about 200 feet in length and at the thickest part of the cane, which is near the top it measured 5 inches in diameter. Near the root, however, the cane only measured $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch. The leaves were 24 feet in length and armed with most formidable hooked thorns. The fruit is borne on the terminal shoot and forms a tassell-shaped bunch some 8 or 10 feet in length. From what I have seen of this rattan I believe it only fruits once and then dies. Four of the trees that were felled were either in fruit or flower so that the work was not thrown away. We also collected a rather handsome bird, with a bright orange-vermilion bill. It appears to be a species of the genus *Rhinocichla.* In the evening of the 24th we got a second specimen of the large red-headed trogon.

The weather from the 25th to the 31st continued very wet and cold, with the exception of one day, the 26th ; on the preceding evening the thermometer went down to 62° in the house at about 8 P. M., the coldest I saw at the lower camp. The highest temperature I noticed while there was 78°. The climate, therefore, corresponds very closely with that of Maxwell's Hill in Larut.

I had a great many trees felled during this period and preserved specimens of all that were either in fruit or flower. By this means I secured specimens of some of the larger trees, which, of course, it is hopeless to get in any other way. Had I had a telescope or a binocular this work would have been much easier. As it was many of the trees when felled were found to have neither fruit nor flower. However on some of these I found epiphytes, parasites and creepers of interest. Among the parasites were two plants closely allied to the English mistletoe, one being an almost exact resemblance of it but slightly smaller, the other had rather rounder leaves.

In the jungle near the camp I found a fine fir tree. It was fully one hundred feet in height and had a trunk of between 4 and 5 feet in diameter. From what I could see of it I fancy it is a different variety to that I mentioned a short time ago, but again a careful search under it gave no results in the shape of cones.

I found 4 or 5 species of *Burmanniaceæ* on Batu Puteh, at different elevations. They are small, mostly leafless plants, often parasitical on the roots of other plants. *Burmannia longifolia* is very plentiful with pretty pale bluish flowers. This species is also found on the mountains of Borneo, Amboina, New Guinea and on Mount Ophir in Malacca. The other species are very much smaller and require diligent searching amongst the dead leaves before they are discoverable. The flower of one was primrose yellow, another dull crimson, one purple and another pale straw colour. All these latter are delicate, fragile, semitransparent little plants.

On the 27th I sent down two men loaded with bundles of dried plants and I sent letters asking for coolies to take all the baggage down to Tapa on the 3rd or 4th of September. By which time I considered we ought to have about exhausted the place. Early on the mornings of the 26th and 27th a tiger was heard quite close to the camp making that peculiar noise which cannot be properly described as growling. I must say it would have been far pleasanter if the tigers had not kept hanging round our camps in the way they did.

Some way below the camp I caught three specimens of a very handsome butterfly. It was a species of the genus *Thaumantis*. Above, it is various shades of rich brown with a diagonal band of azure blue on each fore wing. This lovely insect only frequents the forest of the higher hills as far as my observation goes, and like all the members of the genus is very difficult to catch, because the undersides of the wings are, although when examined closely of singular beauty, still when seen from a little distance so like the tints of a dead leaf that it is usually not seen till with a flash of brilliant blue light it flies off perhaps from almost under your feet. There is no doubt that insects are well aware of the colour on which they will be least exposed to the observation and attacks of enemies. This *Thaumantis* always settles on dead leaves or in a position when it may be mistaken for one. There is a moth, very common in the jungle near the lower camp on Batu Puteh, which is of a pale fawn colour and it is perfectly astonishing how it always alights on a leaf of its exact shade of colour. Although so plentiful I had great difficulty in capturing a few specimens from this habit of rendering itself invisible.

On the 1st and 2nd of September tree felling was continued, and I obtained 41 varieties of plants, a considerable portion of them being large trees. Growing as a creeper on one of the trees was a very pretty fruited *Chilocarpus*. The fruit of which was of a bright orange colour. The effect of the brilliantly coloured fruit amongst the shiny dark green foliage was very striking, and was increased by the yellow flowers and bright red terminal buds to the shoots. These terminal buds are very curious. The colour is caused by the buds being encased in a semitransparent cap of bright red resin. These caps may be detached and are found to be slightly flexible, but at the same time so brittle as to be easily crushed up into powder. They take the form, in a great measure, of the enclosed buds, which the flexibility of the material under continued pressure renders possible.

A plant which deserves to be grown is a small tree with large velvety green leaves, bright crimson beneath. I saw one tree here and several more afterwards in the valley of the Telum. The flowers though inconspicuous are very sweet scented, smelling like sandal-wood. This tree if it would grow in the lowlands would be a great addition to the ornamental trees now grown in the Straits and though more brilliant, would have much the same effect as the copper-beach has in a group of ornamental trees in an English garden.

Of other plants that I met with on Batu Puteh which would repay cultivation I may mention six or seven species of *Didymocarpus* and allied genera, with flowers ranging in colour from white to primrose yellow, and from that to shades of violet and deep claret. Some of the leaves being also very ornamental, both in colour and form. The various species of *Æschynanthus* with their rich red flowers and almost equally beautiful bell-like calyxes deserve far more attention than they receive in the Straits; and some of the *Sonerilas* with quaintly white spotted leaves, from the lower hills, are also worth cultivation.

Of birds we got a specimen of a fine large green woodpecker and another woodpecker of large size that I have not seen before, a handsome-plumaged, yellow-breasted trogon *(Harpactes oreskios)* and a species I do not know, besides three specimens of the pretty little yellow-crested sultan tit. This bird does not seem to differ from that met with in the low country. While hunting in the undergrowth for one of these birds I was stung on the face and hand by one of those handsomely coloured hairy caterpillars. The effect is like receiving several stings from a wasp, and for a few hours is extremely painful. The stinging is apparently produced in the same way as in the common stinging nettle, that is to say, the hairs are hollow and have near their bases enlargements containing a poisonous fluid which is expelled from the points, when the hairs enter the flesh. Other caterpillars have stinging powers, but then the irritation is mechanical and is produced by the hair being barbed and breaking off into the flesh. The large scarlet caterpillar met with in the jungle of the low country and much dreaded by the natives is of this latter class. The Malayan stinging nettle known as *jelatang,* I have examined under the microscope, and it stings in the same way as its English representative.

While writing this I was interrupted by JELLAH, who had just found a large dark metallic green scorpion *(Buthus spiniger)* in his bed. A chase ensued with the aid of lanterns, but the disagreeable bed fellow escaped through the *lanti* floor of the house.

On the third we got one new bird, and on the fourth I shot two small brown barbets which I have not seen up so high on the hills before. On the 5th another new bird was shot besides a male yellow trogon and several others.

Some more trees were felled, among them being a fine oak with very large acorns. I shot down a specimen of the fir tree I have previously mentioned and found it to be, as I thought, another species. There are, therefore, three species on Batu Puteh and a fourth on the Larut Hills *(Dammara alba)*, but this latter has large broad leaves unlike those on the main range.

Seven Sakais from Cheroh came up to carry down baggage, so I packed up things that were not wanted, as it seemed uncertain when the remainder of the men were coming up. In the afternoon I measured them and tested their eyesight. I have now tested the sight of between thirty and forty of both sexes, and there seems to be no doubt that they have very good sight as a race. Of those tested in Batang Padang, the shortest distance that the Army test spots could be seen was 32 feet, and the longest 91 feet. In testing recruits for the British Army 20 feet is considered an average distance for these spots to be read, and a man reading at over that distance is classed as long-sighted, and under as short-sighted. In measuring the women there was great difficulty, as they did not know Malay and could not count. This same difficulty has been met with by observers of other savages, but I got over it by giving the subject a handful of matches and explaining by signs that I wanted a match for each spot on the card held up.

Early on the 5th these Sakais went down the hill and reached Tapa on the next evening.

All the botanical pressing paper was finished by this time, so I had to stop collecting plants.

On the evening of the 6th I shot a very handsome bird, with a snow white head, yellow breast and brown back, wings and tail, the latter being white tipped. The eyes were bright yellow and the bill pale flesh colour. It appears to be closely allied to the white-headed shrike-thrush of Burma and the mountains of India *(Gampsorhynchus rufulus, Bl.)*. This bird gave us a great deal of trouble, for every night and early each morning a small party of them used to pass the camp, sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other. They made a loud, shrill noise something like the *krekah* monkey, and flew quickly from tree to tree. Day after day we went out into the jungle to watch for them, but as there was no certainty which side of the camp they would take, and as they always passed when it was so dark in the forest that neither they nor the sight of the gun could be distinguished, we were never successful until this night in shooting one, although we fired at them on five different occasions. The strange thing was that we never saw these birds in the day time. They passed up the hill to roost at nightfall and down again the first thing in the morning. Their note is so loud and distinctive and they are so noisy that they could not be mistaken for any other bird, or overlooked.

From the 7th to the 10th we continued collecting, but got nothing of special interest. I had some trees felled so as to get a view of two fine *dudok* palms, and then took a photograph of them and afterwards had one cut down to get specimens as it happened to be in flower.

On the 7th and 8th I saw the fresh marks of a bear on the trunks of two trees, one above the camp and one below. These are the only animal marks, excepting those of tigers, which I saw on Batu Puteh.

At about 10 A. M. on the 10th some Sakais and Malays began to arrive, and so we all set to work packing up the collections and other things, and at 7.30 on the 11th we started for Tapa. On the way I stopped at the camp on the banks of the Woh at the foot of the hill and took a photograph looking down the stream, with some Sakais crossing the tree trunk which forms a natural bridge over the river at this point. I reached Kuala Woh at about 1 P. M., but the men with the baggage did not begin to arrive till about 4 P. M., and it was not till nearly 5 that I set off down the river in the smaller of the two boats, a dug-out, which had been sent to meet us, with MAHRASIT, my Malay boy and a Sakai to pole. I was just preparing to have something to eat when the boat shot down a small rapid, then across a pool so deep that the poles could not touch the bottom and alter her course and the next instant she ran on to a rock and turned right over and we and all the baggage went floating down the stream. I made for the photographic apparatus and shouted to one of the men to catch the gun cases as being the most valuable things. After a delay of about half-an-hour, occupied in collecting the various floating things, catching, turning over and bailing out the canoe we made a fresh start, and, with the exception of grounding several times, reached Tapa without further mishap at about 7 P. M. The river the whole way is a succession of small rapids with here and there deep pools. I heard that the place where our canoe capsized has been the scene of many a similar misfortune.

The next day, the 12th, the rest of my party and the remainder of the baggage arrived, and I was busy in cleaning and drying the photographic instruments, guns and other things which had been wetted in the river, and in the evening, when I opened the dark slides I was sorry to find that the water had got into them all and spoiled the plates.

On the 13th I had a quantity of Chinese paper cut to size and began shifting dried plants from the pressing paper into it, and early the next day, the 14th, some men were sent with my boy to dive for the things which had been lost when the dug-out upset. They recovered some of them, but a good many still remained at the bottom of the river, though, fortunately, they were of no great value.

Shortly after seven the same morning, I accompanied Mr. STALLARD and my brother to the valley of the Sungei Klian Mas. We struck the stream near its junction with the Batang Padang River and waded up it for three or four miles. We made several trials of the earth forming the banks, and in nearly all obtained good shows of not only tin-sand but also of gold. Some fifteen years ago or so there was a Malay *kampong* on the banks of this stream, and the inhabitants subsisted principally by mining, but as they refused to pay blackmail to Sheik MAHOMED of Lower Perak, he came up with some fighting men, and burned the houses down and drove away the inhabitants.

We saw many of the old workings in our progress up the river, which we followed to near its source, and then ascended a low range of hills which forms the watershed between the streams flowing into the Batang Padang above the River Tapa and the streams flowing into the Bidor River. We then followed along on the top of this ridge until we came to another river, and from there we went to a place on a tributary of it called the Sungei Chuchu, where some Malays were going to begin mining. We washed some of the earth of the banks of the stream, and obtained samples of very good coarse grained tin-sand containing gold. The tin was found to occur from the surface of the ground down to the bed rock, which, both here and in the valley of the Sungei Klian Mas, consists of beds of slates and clay slates with frequent veins of quartz intersecting them. No trace of granite is to be found either on the range of low hills from which these streams take their rise or in beds of the streams themselves, so that it seems clear that the minerals found in the "wash" in these valleys must have been derived from these stratified formations. The more I see of this district, the more I feel convinced that all the gold has come from these rocks and that if any auriferous lodes are hereafter discovered, they will be found intersecting these ancient stratified beds. I have seen specimens from the gold mining district of Patani, which could not be differentiated from the rocks of the gold mining districts of Batang Padang, and I have no doubt that the same formations will be found in the Pahang gold fields as well.

The grains of gold are not much waterworn, and some of them have adherent fragments of quartz. The tin-sand is coarse grained, blackish, dull and considerably rounded, and would give from 65 to 70 per cent. of metallic tin, according to to the care taken in cleaning the sample.

After having well examined the wash and also the bed rock and its contained veins of quartz, and obtaining sufficient tin-sand to make a good sample, we returned to Tapa, reaching that town in one and three-quarter hours. The track is extremely crooked and much longer than there is any necessity for it to be, and I do not think that this newly found tin and gold land can be more than 3 or 4 miles from Tapa.

There seems to be every reason to suppose that on both sides of the Batang Padang, between Tapa and Kuala Woh, auriferous tin mining land will be found to extend, for, as I have already mentioned, the geological exposures along the river between these two places are all of one formation and of that formation from which it may be with certainty said that the gold, at least, has been derived.

Some time ago I made a series of experiments on some quartz specimens from Klian Mas, and in every case, except one, gold was obtained, though in unremunerative quantities (one to two pennyweights per ton).

From the 16th September to the 4th of October, I remained at Tapa and, as many trees and plants were in flower, did a large amount of botanical collecting. I also looked over and dried all the collections from the hills and packed them up, and made preparations for the trip to Ulu Batang Padang and Gunong Brumbum.

JELLAH had an attack of ague and then dysentery and was unfit for work most of the time, so that not many birds or animals were collected. MAHRASIT was also in the hands of the Apothecary most of the time, and MAHMOT was so ill with fever that I paid him off and engaged another man in his place. I paid another visit to Chendariang and also to Klian Mas and Sungei Chuchu, to which a new track had been traced, suitable for a cart-road, and was found to measure only two and-a-half miles from Tapa.

On the 5th October we left Tapa and proceeded to Kuala Woh and put up for the night in an empty house at that place, and at 8.15 A. M. on the morning of the 6th continued our way up the valley of the Batang Padang. The party consisted of 60 in all and even then we had to leave a quantity of rice and other things at Kuala Woh for want of transport. The difficulty on these expeditions is that the rice, fish and other necessaries for the transport coolies, employ more than half of their number and so leave only a few men available for the baggage of the rest of the party.

Both branches of the river having risen about 4 feet during the heavy rain of the preceding night, the Batang Padang was not fordable, and so we all had to cross it in boats, which was safely accomplished with the exception that one Sakai with his load tumbled head over heels into the river. There was great excitement amongst our Malays, as it was thought that his load consisted of the salt and sugar, but an investigation showed it to be only rice.

We then followed a N. E. and subsequently a N. W. course keeping close to the river all the way. The river is practicable for boats only for about half a mile above Kuala Woh, beyond that there are many small waterfalls and boiling rapids through which no boat could pass. At Lubo Tiang, where we camped for the night, the angle at which a long reach of the river is falling is 1.10′ or about 1 in 45.

After leaving Kuala Woh we passed over many exposures of stratified rocks and it was only in the latter part of the day's march that we met with granite, and then only in patches.

The granite is very like that of the Larut hills and quite distinct from that of Gunong Batu Puteh and the Woh valley, but there are in the river rolled pieces of granite with the bluish quartz in them. These are probably derived from tributaries flowing into the river from the South-East, which have their sources near Batu Puteh and Brapit. At the camp we made a washing of some of the surface soil, and got a very fair show of tin-sand.

On the 7th, we reached Rantau Tipus and camped on the banks of the river after a six hours' march. The height of this place was 1,520 feet above sea level.

During the day we saw a quantity of that most graceful of all bamboos, known by the native name of *buluh arker,* as well as an abundance of *buluh telor*, and several clumps of *buluh bersumpit.* This latter is the bamboo which is used by the Sakais to make the long straight tubes of their national weapon—the blow-pipe. During the latter part of the day we came on the gigantic bamboo, *buluh betom*, with stems six to eight inches in diameter and sixty to eighty feet high.

The young shoots of this plant are edible, but not very nice to an European palate, though both the Malays and Sakais greedily devoured them, cooked and uncooked. Many of our Sakais made boxes of these bamboos and crammed into them all their clothes, and thenceforth appeared clad only in a two-inch wide strip of bark cloth.

The next day's march (the 8th) took us to the Kuala of the Sengum, where we camped. With the exception of a few patches of stratified rock, all that we passed over during the previous day's march was granitic, and granite again was the most plentiful rock met with between Rantau Tipus and Kuala Sengum, with here and there a patch of gneiss. Several large quartz lodes were seen, but they contained no indications of being metalliferous. One washing was made during the day in a ravine, and a fair show of tin-sand obtained.

A great part of the track lay in the bed of the river, and wading through the cold water, and climbing over the slippery stones and rocks was anything but pleasant when continued for hours at a time.

The flora of this part of the valley of the Batang Padang seems very different to anything I have yet seen on the hills of Perak. The height of this part of the valley is about 2,000 feet. One noticeable plant was a very handsome member of the *Melastomaceœ* with large bunches of coral pink flowers, succeeded by equally handsome bunches of bright red or purple fruits. I collected 30 plants during the day, and could have got many more, but considerations of transport and preservation deterred me. In an evil moment we were induced by assurances and example of some of the Sakais to eat some pretty apple-like fruit with which a tree, growing by the side of the river, was laden. The fruit, though pleasant at first, left a very disagreeable aftertaste, and we suffered for the remainder of the day with sore mouths and lips. It was a species of the genus *Garcinia,* of which the *buah gluga* is a well-known and closely allied example.

On the 9th we did not break up the camp, as we had decided to await the arrival of KALANA and the Sakais with him.

I sent JELLAH out shooting, and then we went up Gunong Chunam Prah, and reached a height of 3,350 feet. I saw a considerable number of new plants, and collected 18 species—some horse tails *(Equisetum)* an *Arundina (A. bambusifolia)* (?), a large cream-coloured *Dendrobium*, &c. I then saw for the first time a blackberry, which grows amongst the *bluka* on the old Sakai *ladangs.* The berry is red and long and has something of the same flavour as its English ally. The leaf and method of growth is also very similar. Raspberries were also common in the same situations, but the fruit was small and nearly tasteless. Fan palms of a size exceeding a coco-nut tree were very plentiful, and formed quite a feature in the jungle of the surrounding hills and valleys. The leaves are used by the Sakais to thatch their houses, and, owing to the extreme hardness of the stems, they are not in the habit of cutting the palms down when felling the jungle for their *ladangs,* which probably accounts for their great abundance.

A great part of the tops of the ridges running up to G. Chunam Prah are bare of trees and covered with ferns, grass and the handsome *Arundina* I have already mentioned.

On returning to the camp I found that JELLAH had not seen any new birds, and all those I had seen during the day were of the same species as those we had previously collected on Gunong Batu Puteh. Later on in the afternoon, KALANA and 14 Sakais arrived with more rice and stores.

Early on the morning of the 10th we sent back KAREM and 16 Sakais to Kuala Woh to bring on more baggage and stores, and then started on again up the river. MAHROPE having a bad foot we had to leave him and a Kling, who came up with KALANA the day before at Kuala Sengum, until he was well enough to follow us. We passed a pretty waterfall during the day, formed by a tributary falling into the Batang Padang from the right, as you go up stream. There was a fine rainbow formed by the spray, which the Malays would have it was a *hantu*.

We camped again on the banks of the river, and on the 11th followed it up for some hours. The track taking us over some places which were anything but easy walking, or rather climbing. We then left the river, shortly after passing a fine waterfall, or more properly succession of falls, and ascended Gunong Ulu Batang Padang, and camped on its N. E. face at a height of 4,170 feet above the sea.

On the 12th we went up to the summit of the mountain, and from the "Crow's Nests" on the top of the trees, that were made some six months before by KALANA during the first expedition to these mountains; and were so fortunate as to obtain fine views of the Kinta Hills and the intervening country. I took two photographs, from one of these unsteady and perilous perches, of the hills and valleys which constitute what is so inaccurately described as "Cameron's Plateau."

We decided that the route taken by the late Mr. CAMERON must have been through the valley next to that of the Batang Padang, and divided from it only by the Laut Tingal ridge, and not more than four miles distant, as the crow flies, from the mountain we were then on.

On the 13th we again went up to the "Crow's Nests" to make sure of some of the hills which we could not make out on the previous day, and to settle on the course to take to reach Gunong Brumbum. This day we distinctly saw Batu Gaja in Kinta, bearing 283.30. This sight removed all doubt as to the course taken by Mr. CAMERON in his journey from the Sungei Ryah to Pahang. Gunong Brumbun was exactly E. S. E. from us, but there was a valley and then a mountain, rather higher than the one we were then on which was 5,270 feet high, and then another deep valley to be traversed before the real ascent of it could be commenced.

On our return in the afternoon to the camp, we found MAHROPE had arrived. His foot was nearly well again, we were glad to see. With him were the Sakais who were sent back on the 12th to bring on the baggage left at Kuala Sergum.

On the 14th we moved to a new camp which had been prepared during the two preceding days on a better site than that occupied by the old one and with a small clearing round it, so as to allow of the sun drying off the numerous botanical specimens we had been collecting.

Early on the morning of the 15th we, that is, 3 Malays, 2 Klings, 16 Sakais and ourselves, left the new camp in charge of JELLAH and a Malay, after having discharged all the other Sakais, and ascended nearly to the summit of Gunong Ulu Batang Padang, then struck down the S. E. face of it, passing the old camp made by the previous expedition, and skirted round the hill till we came to the Gunong Ulu Sekum, round the eastern face of which, we also went, then crossed two long projecting spurs of it, and descended by a gully to the valley of a tributary of the River Jalai, on the banks of which we camped, at an elevation of 4,590 feet. This stream takes the drainage of the N. W. slopes of Brumbun and the S. E. slopes of Gunong Ulu Sekum and flows down in an E. N. E. direction to join the Jillah, as the upper part of the Pahang River is called.

Near our camp I again saw the same handsome yellow-flowered *Rhododendron* that I previously met with on Batu Puteh, but this time it was growing as an epiphyte high up on a huge tree.

I captured in the evening a particularly handsome member of the *Glomeridæ* family, probably belonging to the genus *Zephronia*. It was one of those creatures much like a large woodlouse, but really nearly related to the *Julidæ* (*Millepedes*). It was black striped transversely with pale blue-green and orange. Each pale blue-green stripe having three spots of a deeper shade of the same colour on it.

During the night the rain came down in torrents, and as the roof leaked badly we had a very disturbed and uncomfortable night.

On the 16th we ascended a ridge near the camp, and after many hours of climbing, through a singularly dense and thorny undergrowth, we came to a sort of saddle where there were some small pools of water, at a height of 5,890 feet, where all decided to camp.

While the huts were building we went on up the hill and reached the lower of the three points of the mountain, as seen from Tapa, but everything was wrapped in thick drifting fog, so we could see nothing of the view.

Again we had a miserable night, as the hut leaked worse than that at the last night's camp, and there was nothing for it but to roll up our bedding, place it so as to escape the worst leaks, and sit on it, while the rain lasted, which, unfortunately, was a good many hours. Next morning, the 17th, we again ascended the hill, and reached the highest point, and left a bottle there with a record of the ascent. We had our bedding and other things brought up, and laid out to dry, but it soon began raining and after waiting till between 11 and 12 o'clock and seeing no indication of the clouds either lifting or drifting away, we reluctantly returned to the camp and packed up, and started down to the permanent camp on Ulu Batang Padang, which we reached at a little before 6 p.m.

On making this ascent I fully expected to see a great change in the flora as the summit was reached, and was much disappointed to find it nearly the same as that on Gunong Batu Puteh.

There was one very handsome *Rhododendron*, with large white flowers delicately tinged with apple-blossom pink, growing freely and plentifully on the extreme bush covered summits. Another member of the same family had tiny bright yellow, bell-shaped flowers and small roundish, shiny, dark green leaves. One very marked difference between the flora of Batu Puteh and Brumbun is the total absence of fir trees on the latter mountain. The small bamboo called by the Malays *buluh perindu* is, on the other hand, extremely plentiful on Brumbun and comparatively scarce on the other hill. I was fortunate in being able to collect flowering specimens of this elegant little bamboo, which is credited with mystic properties by the natives, and is in much request by love lorn swains, whose mistresses are cold and irresponsive. In all I added 47 species of plants to my collection, but this number fell far short of what I had expected.

The height of the highest point of Brumbun as shown by the aneroid was only 6,860 feet, but I think that there must be some mistakes about this, but whether arising from any fault in the instrument or from the disturbed state of the weather at the time of the ascent, I am unable to say. Unfortunately we could not see Batu Puteh, and on neither of my two ascents of that mountain was I able to get a sight of Brumbun, but undoubtedly the latter is much the loftier of the two. One thing is certain, that within a radius of 20 miles, there is no other mountain higher than Brumbun, with the possible exception of Yang Yop. Mr. SWETTENHAM, some few years back published a note in the Straits Royal Asiatic Society's Journal on a new mountain seen in Perak from Gunong Arang Para, and from that description and the bearing he gives (102°) Brumbun is most probably the peak he then saw. This mountain is in Pahang, as the water from all faces of it flows either into the Sungei Inchi or the Jillah, and subsequently into the Pahang River. The valleys at the base of the mountain contain much excellent planting land, at about a mean elevation of 4,000 feet. There is also good land on the lower slopes of the mountain itself, but the higher portions of it are very steep, though the soil appears to be of exceptional richness.

The 18th was occupied in drying clothes and bedding, and packing up everything ready for a start the next day, as we had decided to try and cut across into the valley of the Telum, and follow up that river to its source, and then cross the hills and descend into Kinta, so as to settle beyond dispute the situation of the planting land explored by Mr. CAMERON.

Accordingly on the 19th we left the camp on Gunong Ulu Batang Padang and directed our course so as to reach the head of the Batang Padang valley, to ascertain the height of the pass or watershed dividing the waters flowing into Perak on the one side, and Pahang on the other, which we found to be 3,800 feet above sea level.

Our party consisted of 16 Sakais, two Malay boys, KALANA the Malay *krani,* one Kling coolie and ourselves. We only took provisions sufficient for 5 days, besides our clothes; all the collecting things, guns, &c., we left at the camp in charge of JELLAH and my other two men.

The course taken to find the top of the pass was about North-East and the consequence was that we went a long way out of our proper direction, which ought to have been W. N. W. Our progress was very slow, as we had, as on the ascent of Gunong Brumbun, to cut a track the whole way. We camped by the side of a small stream, and while the banana leaf huts were being built, Mr. C. WRAY and I went up a hill near by in the hopes of getting a sight of some hills whose outlines we know, but beyond catching a glimpse of Brumbun we saw nothing that could be recognised.

The next day, the 20th, we took a westerly course which led us diagonally across the Batang Padang valley, and eventually on to the ridge dividing it from the valley of the Telum. On the top of this ridge there was a good Sakai track, which we followed for some time until it began to take a S. W. course, when we left it and struck down a spur in a northerly direction into what we hoped was the Telum Valley, and at about 4 P. M. came to that river, which was about 60 feet broad at the place we first saw it, at an elevation of 3,200 feet. We here camped on the site of one of Mr. CAMERON'S old camps, and by the side of the river was a track which was undoubtedly his track. The elephant marks being still distinctly visible. MAHROPE, who was with Mr. CAMERON on his journey through this valley, told us that two days' march further down the stream would take us to a place where the river was navigable for *rakets.*

Growing along the banks of the river, we found quantities of violets with pale coloured, but sweet-scented flowers, which have been identified by Dr. KING as *Viola Thomsoni,* and are said by him to be common to the mountains of India, Java, and Sumatra. There were also a considerable number of species of *Compositæ*. It was quite a surprise to us to find these temperate forms of plants in a valley at quite a low elevation when the mountain tops had been found to be covered with distinctly tropical vegetation. The birds I saw here were all hill forms, but I saw nothing that I had not previously met with, either on the Larut Hills or on Batu Puteh; though it is probable that a stay of a month or two would be rewarded by many new species.

This valley and those adjoining it contain some of the finest planting land which I suppose is to be found anywhere on the mountains of the Peninsula, particularly when it is remembered that when the railway is constructed to Tapa and the cart-road from there up the valley of the Batang Padang it will be within a day's journey of a fine port. Such combined advantages of elevation, exposure, easy transport and good soil, are, I believe, not to be met with either in Ceylon or in the hill districts of India.

Mr. CAMERON'S original description of this hill country is fairly accurate if the Malay word "*pamor*," is translated correctly as "valley" instead of "plateau" land. The lofty mountains range closing in the hill country to the East that is montioned by him and estimated to be over 8,000 feet high is Gunong Brumbun, and another large hill mass to the East of it. To the North it is closed in by the Yang Yop range. Two large tributaries having their source on Yang Yop itself and one of them seems to be the largest of the many streams which, flowing down from the North, West and South, eventually form the Pahang River.

On the 21st we followed the elephant track up the valley, but after going some way lost it amongst some half-grown up Sakai ladangs. We then sometimes cut through the jungle and at others followed any Sakai tracks which went in the direction we wished to take. At about one o'clock we came to a place where the river divided, and we followed up the northern branch to near its source and on the top of a hill came on a Sakai house and decided to put up in it for the night.

The owners fled at our approach, so we sent some of our Sakais after them, and about an hour or so afterwards three of the men returned, but were a long time in doubt as to our intentions.

The promise of some *sarongs* and knives induced our hosts to agree to show us a way over a pass on the southern spur of Gunong Chabong. It would have been interesting to have recovered CAMERON'S track, but as we had already been out three days and so had only provisions for two more, we decided to take the southern track. The branch of the Telum we had followed has its source on Gunong Enas, and as far as we could understand from the local Sakais, CAMERON'S track was more to the North, in fact, followed the ridge of hills forming the northern boundary of the upper part of the Telum Valley.

The house in which we passed the night was a large and well built one and seemed to be occupied by two families. It was at an elevation of about 4,000 feet, and being perched on the top of a cleared hill fully exposed to the winds we found it very cold.

Hanging up in the house were strings of the lower jaws of monkeys, musangs and other animals, and in another house we saw bunches of hornbill skulls. They are kept hanging up in the smoke as trophies in the same way as the Dyaks keep human heads in their houses. Another custom which seems to point to a connection between the two races is that they keep large fires burning in the centre of their houses during the night, and that it is only during the first part of the night that they sleep, after that they sit up round the fire and talk till morning.

The spirits of all our following were much higher than they had been since we left Gunong Ulu Batang Padang, as hopes were now entertained of reaching Kinta, which, until our falling in with these Sakais, they had deemed to be impossible.

Accompanied on the 22nd by our hosts of the preceding night we returned to the foot of Gunong Jimawah, a steep rocky hill which juts out into the Telum Valley, and followed the branch of the river which passes on the southern side of it, and at about 1 P. M. reached the pass between the source of the Telum and the source of the Kampar River. This pass is 4,170 feet above sea level, and is a narrow ridge with sides so nearly vertical that the ascent on one side and the descent on the other was very difficult and even dangerous. The more so as the course both up and down was among the slippery rocks of the beds of two mountain torrents. To add to our discomforts the rain fell heavily the greater part of the day, chilling us to the bone, and rendering everything more slippery than it would otherwise have been. Mr. C. WRAY slipped and fell on a rock in the stream and hurt his knee rather badly, and I was troubled with a sore foot, the result of an abrasion caused by sand in my boot two days previously and the subsequent almost constant immersion in more or less dirty water.

The pass on the south of Chabong, though about 1,000 feet lower than that over which Mr. CAMERON went, is, as far as we could see, quite impracticable for a road.

Chabong itself is very rocky and precipitate and the hill to the south seems little better.

The change in the soil on crossing the watershed was most marked. On the Pahang side the soil, except just near the top of the ridge, was deep, free and rich, while on the Kinta side it was a hard, greasy, pale yellowish clay.

At about 4 P. M. we had descended to an altitude of 2,400 feet, and coming to a Sakai house, put up in it for the night. The house was in a large clearing planted with Chinese millet, which is known by the Sakai name of *Sekua*, and the Malay name of *Ekor Kuchin*. This grain is largely grown by the Sakais both in these hills and in the Plus District, but we saw no rice in any of the Sakai ladangs, and the staple food stuff seemed to be *Ubi Kayu*.

They also grow sweet potatoes, sugar-cane and pumpkins. No fruit of any kind is planted, except in the settlements near the Malay *kampongs,* but tobacco we saw in the most out-of-the-way ladangs on the hills. The Sakais in the Telum Valley and also on the Kinta side of Chabong acknowledge Toh SONG of Batu Pipis, near Kuala Dipang as their Chief.

Early on the morning of the 23rd we made a start and continued down the Kampar River—here grown to a large stream—and with difficulty forded. More than half the way we were led either in the water or over the rocks of the river bed and were continually crossing from side to side of the river.

Sakai tracks, where possible, invariably follow the bed of some stream and there is thus nothing to guide any one in attempting to follow one. This, we were informed, is intentional and, in times past, was a necessary measure to prevent their being followed and hunted out of their mountain homes by the Malays.

The last crossing of the Kampar was made on a huge tree trunk, by the bare-footed portion of the party and then we took a track leading to Gopeng, which we reached at about 6 p.m., after a march of nearly 12 hours. The ragged and travel stained appearance of the whole party seemed to afford much amusement to the Chinese in the streets of Gopeng, and we were received with shouts of derisive laughter by the crowd round the gambling farm. We put up in the Rest-house, and thoroughly enjoyed sleeping on the plank floor (the beds being engaged) after a three weeks' spell of beds made of jungle sticks.

After buying knives and *sarongs* for the guides, on the morning of the 24th we proceeded to Kota Bharu and on the 25th continued our way, following the Kuala Dipang Road. When about four miles had been traversed MAHROPE was taken ill with fever and became light-headed, and could not walk any further, so he had to be carried to Kampong Plikat and left there in a Malay house, with two of the Sakais to look after him. On reaching Kuala Dipang we sent KALANA and five men, who had arrived by another road from Gopeng, back to Kampong Plikat, to bring him on the next morning. On the 26th KALANA arrived bringing MAHROPE, and we then started, leaving the Kling to look after him, and reached Tapa in 7 hours including stoppages.

The wet weather had by this time set in in earnest, so that I decided not to go up to the camp on Ulu Batang Padang again, but only to send up some Sakais to bring down all the collections left there.

On the 2nd November, KAREM and 15 Sakais therefore left Tapa, and on the 10th the whole of the party returned, and on the 16th we went down the river in two boats to Telok Anson, and reached Larut on the 19th in the S. S. *Mena*.

The botanical specimens collected during the trip numbered 1,200 species, and the birds 187 skins. The plants have all been sent to the Royal Botanic Gardens, Calcutta, to be worked out, and the birds to the British Museum. I am informed by Mr. BOWDLER SHARPE that there are 9 or 10 new species amongst the collection, thus bringing up the number of new species from the mountains of Perak to 16.

Mammals were very scarce, and did not number more than a dozen specimens.

Of insects and other natural history objects, I made fairly good collections, and added much to the series of Sakai objects in the Museum as well as collecting others to send to the British Museum.

L. WRAY, Jr.,
*Curator, Perak Museum.*

*June, 1888.*

# GEMENCHEH

## (DISTRICT DE JOHOL)

## NEGRI SEMBILAN.

PAR MONSR. L. C. ISNARD,

*Ingénieur Civil des Mines.*

TRÈS-PEU de personnes connaissent même de nom le pays de "Gemencheh." Ses ressources, son rapprochement avec Malacca, ses facilités de communication pour l'explorateur comme pour l'exploiteur, sa richesse en un mot, sont absolument ignorés du publique. Et cependant ce pays est situé à 48 heures à peine de Singapore.

Gemencheh est un des états de la Confédération du Negri Sembilan, par consequent englobé dans le groupe des petits états actuellement sous le protectorat britannique qui a pour ville de résidence Kwala Pilah.

Ce district est borné au Nord et à l'Ouest par Johol, à l'Est par Johor, et au Sud par la colonie de Malacca. Il est traversé sur sa plus grande longueur par un affluent du Muar, le Gemencheh, qui a donné son nom au pays. Plusieurs tributaires de cette rivière arrosant ce pays en tous sens en ferait une contrée d'une grande fertilité, si le nombre d'habitants était en rapport avec ces immensités de terrain. Ses limites de frontière avec Malacca lui permettent de se servir des routes de cette colonie jusqu'à Malacca même, soit 30 milles. Une autre route carrossable de Batang Malacca le met également en rapport avec Tampin, ville frontière du Negri Sembilan. Et de Batang Malacca on peut se rendre au village de Gemencheh par un chemin pratiqué pour faciliter la sortie des plantations, soit 6 milles. Il suffirait d'une somme relativement infime pour faire de ce chemin une route de grand voie.

Maintenant dans l'intérieure une foule de sentiers vous mettent à même de vous rendre dans les différents endroits de cette contrée sans trop de détours, avantage considerable pour l'explorateur prospecteur. Il est certain que devant le développement que ce pays commence à prendre et la très-grande place qu'il occupera sous peu, non seulement dans le Negri Sembilan mais encore dans la presqu'île de Malacca, le Gouvernement fera le sacrifice immédiat d'une grosse somme pour créer des voies de communication afin de faciliter l'entrée et la sortie des denrées et produits des exploitations minières et agricoles.

Ce pays de Gemencheh est essentiellement minier. Point d'étain, mais de l'or. Il est situé dans les derniers contreforts de la grande chaine séparative de la péninsule. Ces collines quoique peu élevées sont trés abruptes et en forme de cône pour le plus grand nombre. Couvertes de forêt de bois de premier choix elles seront dans l'exploitation minière un puissant auxiliaire. Comme bois de chauffage leur calorique est suffisant pour servir aux machines à vapeur, et comme bois de constructions, menuiserie, traverses de chemin de fer, poteaux telegraphiques leur rôle est tout tracé.

Un même soulèvement aurifère traverse Gemencheh dans toute sa longueur comme dans toute sa largeur. Ce soulèvement, que j'ai à maintes reprises observé, a une direction générale de N.N.W. et S.S.E. Il part de la colonie de Malacca où je l'ai relevé, traverse tout le Gemencheh, coupe le Muar et le Serting, enrichit leurs affluents au passage atteint Tasoh, continue sa marche à travers Pahang, où je le laisse. Ce soulèvement, que j'ai observé dans toute sa marche, n'est point le fait d'un hasard ou d'un excès d'imagination mais bien un effet des observations consciencieusement prises et nettement établies.

1°. La formation aurifère commence très-avant dans la colonie de Malacca. Sur une grande partie du parcours de la route reliant Malacca à Tampin elle n'échappera pas à l'œil d'un observateur. En laissant ce chemin (au 10^eme^ mille de Malacca par exemple) et en en pénétrant un peu à l'Est dans l'intérieur des terres à 2 ou 3 milles, vous vous trouvez en face des travaux de lavage d'alluvions aurifères executés avec tant de poursuite q'uil ne laissent aucun doute sur la valeur primitive de ces gisements. Il est à présumer que les filons qui ont enrichi ces cours d'eau ne sont pas loin, car le peu d'eau et le peu de pente de ces ruisseaux ne permettent pas un grand entraînement de ce metal si lourd. De ce point en prenant une direction N. S. vous arrivez dans le Gemencheh.

2°. Le premier endroit et aussi le plus important qui s'offre est Chendras. On peut dire que presque de tout temps les Malais ont travaillé à Chendras. Leurs travaux quoique peu considérables n'en denotent pas moins une certaine habilité dans le travail des mines, surtout si l'on considère dans quelles conditions déplorables ces travaux ont été executés. Sans outils, sans pompe, sans poudre, ils ont foncé des puits qui ont 150 pieds de profondeur. Une compagnie europeenne s'est formée dans la suite, mais ses affaires n'ont pas repondu aux grandes espérances que l'on avait conçues; elle liquida. Le même reef d'abord travaillé par les Malais fut continué par la nouvelle compagnie. Ce reef appartient au réseau E.-W. dont la largeur est très considerable à en juger par les travaux légers faits jusqu'à ce jour; quant à la longueur elle est encore à determiner, on n'en peut rien dire encore. Ce soulèvement de E.-W. est de formation antérieure au soulèvement N.-S.

Les filons dans cette dernière formation sont, je pense, aussi nombreux que dans la première. Ils croisent les filons E.-W. à peu près à angle droit, ce qui donne lieu à de nombreux tronçons E.-W. qui rendront l'exploitation de ces filons difficile, mais aussi très-riche à cause des nombreuses points de contact. Quant à la richesse de ces filons N.-S. elle semble jusqu'à présent être très inférieure à celle des filons E.-O. Leur puissance est plus grande et leur quartz d'aspect salin est fort dur même à l'affleurement. Les filons E.-W. étant plus décomposés à la surface et donnant l'or visible à l'œil nu on peut conclure que la richesse des alluvions proviennent de la désagregation de ces filons.

Les alluvions de ce district de Chendras ont été en grande partie travaillées.

Si l'ancienne compagnie de Chendras, pour des raisons dans lesquelles je n'ai pas entrer, n'a pas réussi, ce n'est pas à dire que celle qui se créront à l'avenir auront le même sort, d'autant plus qu'il n'est pas prouvé qu'elle ait travaillé le filon le plus riche de ce district, ce que nous sommes appelés peut être à constater avant long temps.

Des études sérieuses de recherches mettront à jour, j'en ai la conviction, des richesses comme la péninsule n'en a pas encore vues et qui recompenseront largement l'energie et la tenacité de ceux qui ont su vouloir.

3°. En continuant toujours ce voyage à travers le Gemencheh et en suivant toujours ce soulèvement aurifère dans la direction W., j'arrive à Ulu Gedoh.

Cette concession appartient aujourd'hui à un syndicat, aussi je ne m'appesantirai pas. Deux reefs sont découverts; le premier d'une direction E.-O., et le second N.-S. Ce que je viens de dire plus haut, quant à la formation des filons, peut s'appliquer ici, c'est le même soulèvement. Le premier filon E.-O. donne de grandes espérances, je suis persuadé qu'il les tiendra. Dès la surface, l'or est visible à l'œil nu, les travaux en profondeur montreront que la richesse va toujours "crescendo." Dans les travaux superficiels faits par ce syndicat j'ai vu la richesse aller en augmentant au fur et à mesure que les fouilles descendaient.

Je continue mon voyage à travers le Gemencheh dans une direction N.N.E. et j'arrive au Muar après avoir traversé ses affluents, tels que "Kendong," Jelei, Klebang, &c., &c., tous travaillés en tant qu'alluvions, et j'arrive au Serting et delà en traversant le Cheras et le Sebaling, affluents du Serting, j'arrive à la frontière de Pahang.

Quant à la direction générale on peut s'en rendre compte en la suivant sur la carte, et en relevant les points que je viens d'indiquer, on tombera en plein dans le territoire de la colonie de Malacca apres avoir traversé tout le pays de Gemencheh.

Si maintenant le voyageur placé sur la frontière de Pahang jette ses regards vers le pays de Pahang dans la direction de découvertes d'or de cette contrée, tel que Raub, il verra que tous ces points se trouvent dans le même soulèvement que je vien d'indiquer.

Si j'ai pu par ces quelques lignes interesser le lecteur au point de lui croire par ma demonstration que l'or dans la péninsule Malaise n'en pas seulement tributaire d'un pays mais bien de *trois*, qui sont la colonie de Malacca, le Gemencheh (Negri Sembilan), et Pahang, je serai entièrement satisfait; mon but sera atteint.

506.595

[No. 22.]

# JOURNAL

OF THE

# STRAITS BRANCH

OF THE

# ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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**DECEMBER, 1890.**

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SINGAPORE:

Printed at the Government Printing Office.

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Agents of the Society:

London and America, .... Trübner & Co.
Paris, .... Ernest Leroux & Cie.
Germany, ... K. F. Koehler's Antiquarium, Leipzig.

193852

[No. 22.]

# JOURNAL

OF THE

# STRAITS BRANCH

OF THE

# ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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**DECEMBER, 1890.**

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THE

# STRAITS BRANCH

OF THE

# ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

## PATRON:

His Excellency Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH, K.C.M.G.

## COUNCIL FOR 1891.

The Hon'ble Sir J. FREDERICK DICKSON, K.C.M.G., *President.*

The Right Revd. Bishop G. F. HOSE, *Vice-President, Singapore.*

D. LOGAN, Esquire, *Vice-President, Penang.*

H. N. RIDLEY, Esquire, *Honorary Secretary.*

E. KOEK, Esquire, *Honorary Treasurer.*

W. DAVISON, Esquire,
A. KNIGHT, Esquire,
The Hon'ble J. W. BONSER,
H. L. NORONHA, Esquire,
Lieut. H. J. KELSALL, R.A.,
} *Councillors.*

# LIST OF MEMBERS

FOR

1891.

| Nos. | Names. | Addresses. |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Abrahamson, E. E. | China North Borneo Co. Ltd., Sandakan, B. N. B. |
| 2 | Allingham, S. | 25, Grosvenor Street, Grosvenor Square, London, W. |
| 3 | Anthonisz, J. O. | Beaconsfield, Sepoy Lines, Singapore. |
| 4 | Ashworth, Lieut. P., R.E. | Army Agents, Craig Court, London. |
| 5 | Ayre, A. F. | Public Works Department, Singapore. |
| 6 | Bampfylde, C. A. | Kuching, Sarawak. |
| 7 | Becher, H. M. | Almeida Street, Singapore. |
| 8 | Beeston, Capt. R. D., B.A. | Sandakan, B. N. B. |
| 9 | Bellamy, G. C., B.A. | Kwala Lumpur, Selangor. |
| 10 | Bernard, F. G. | Woodleigh, Saranggong Road, Singapore. |
| 11 | Bicknell, W. A. | Audit Department, Penang. |
| 12 | Birch, J. K. | Senior Magistrate, Penang. |
| 13 | Blagden, C. O. | South Malacca, Malacca. |
| 14 | Bland, R. N. | Land Department, Singapore. |
| 15 | Bonser, The Hon'ble J. W. | Burnside, Tanglin, Singapore. |
| 16 | Bott, Dr. W. N. | The Grange, Grange Road, Singapore. |
| 17 | Braddon, Dr. W. L. | Kwala Lumpor, Selangor. |
| 18 | Brandt, D. | Woodneuk, Singapore. |

## MEMBERS FOR 1891,—*Continued.*

| Nos. | Names. | Addresses. |
|---|---|---|
| 19 | Brown, L. C. | Brown & Co., Penang. |
| 20 | Brown, Dr. W. C. | Beech Street, Penang. |
| 21 | Bryant, A. T. | Dindings (on leave). |
| 22 | Buckley, C. B. | Orchard Road, Singapore. |
| 23 | Burbidge, W. | Sophia Road, Singapore. |
| 24 | Burkinshaw, The Hon'ble J. | Mount Elizabeth, Orchard Road, Singapore. |
| 25 | Burton-Brown, Col. A., R.A., | Balmore, Singapore. |
| 26 | Cameron, Capt. M. A., R.E. | Colonial Engineer's Department, Penang. |
| 27 | Camus, M. de | Wilkie Road, Singapore. |
| 28 | Cerruti, G. B. | Bangkok. |
| 29 | Claine, J. | 21, Northam Road, Penang. |
| 30 | Clifford, H. C. | Kwala Lipis, Ulu Pahang. |
| 31 | Copley, George | Municipality, Malacca. |
| 32 | Creagh, C. Vandeleur | British North Borneo. |
| 33 | Croix, J. Errington de la | Pahang. |
| 34 | Currie, Andrew | 28, Fenchurch Street, London. |
| 35 | Davison, Wm. | Raffles Museum, Stamford Road, Singapore. |
| 36 | Denison, N. | Lower Perak, Perak. |
| 37 | Dent, Sir Alfred, K.C.M.G. | 11, Old Broad Street, London, E. C. |
| 38 | Dew, A. T. | Matang, Perak. |
| 39 | Dickson, The Hon'ble Sir J. Frederick, K.C.M.G. | Colonial Secretary's House. |
| 40 | Diethelm, W. H. | Hooglandt & Co., Singapore. |
| 41 | Down, St. V. B. | Holme Chase, Grange Road, Singapore. |
| 42 | Dunlop, C. | Powell & Co., Singapore. |
| 43 | Dunlop, Colonel S., C.M.G. | London. |

## MEMBERS FOR 1891,—*Continued.*

| Nos. | Names. | Addresses. |
|---|---|---|
| 44 | Ebhardt, Hans | Hilty & Co., Singapore. |
| 45 | Egerton, Walter | Magistrates' Court, Penang. |
| 46 | Elcum, J. B. | Dindings. |
| 47 | Eschke, H. | German Consulate, Singapore. |
| 48 | Everett, A. Hart | 41, York Terrace, Regent's Park, London. |
| 49 | Everett, E. E. | The Central Borneo Company Limited, Labuan. |
| 50 | Everett, H. H. | Sarawak. |
| 51 | Ferguson, A. M., Jr. | 18 & 19, Baillie Street, Fort, Colombo. |
| 52 | Fraser, John | Eskbank Cottage, Singapore. |
| 53 | Gaggino, G. | Gaggino & Co., Singapore. |
| 54 | Gaynor, Lieut. H. F., R.E. | Tanglin Barracks, Singapore. |
| 55 | Gentle, Alex. | Eskbank, Tanglin, Singapore. |
| 56 | Gosling, T. L. | River Valley Road, Singapore. |
| 57 | Gottlieb, F. H., F.R.G.S., F.A.S. | The Priory, Northam Road, Penang. |
| 58 | Gottlieb, G. S. H. | (F. H. Gottlieb), Penang. |
| 59 | Graham, James | London. |
| 60 | Gulland, W. G. | Paterson, Simons & Co., London. |
| 61 | Hale, A. | Kinta, Perak. |
| 62 | Haughton, H. T., B.A. | Singapore. |
| 63 | Hervey, The Hon'ble D. F. A. | Resident Councillor, Malacca. |
| 64 | Hill, Fenton Walter | Kwala Lumpur, Selangor. |

## MEMBERS FOR 1891,—*Continued.*

| Nos. | Names. | Addresses. |
|---|---|---|
| 65 | HILL, E. C. | Inspector of Schools, Mt. Pleasant, Singapore. |
| 66 | HOSE, Right Revd. Bishop G. F., M.A., D.D. (Honorary Member) | Sarawak. |
| 67 | HOSE, C. | Baram, Sarawak. |
| 68 | HOUTHUYSEN, C. L. | Netherlands Trading Society, Singapore. |
| 69 | HULLETT, R. W., M.A., F.L.S. | Eskbank, Tanglin, Singapore. |
| 70 | HUTCHINSON, E. R. | Penang. |
| 71 | IBRAHIM BIN ABDULLAH, Inche | Johor. |
| 72 | IRVING, C. J., C.M.G. | Tiverton, Devonshire, England. |
| 73 | JOAQUIM, J. P. | Buitenzorg, Paterson Road, Singapore. |
| 74 | JOHOR, H. H. the Sultan of the State and Territory of, G.C.M.G., G.C.S.I. (Honorary Member) | Johor (now in Europe). |
| 75 | KEHDING, F. | Labuan, Deli. |
| 76 | KEITH, Dr. | Bangtaphan, Siam. |
| 77 | KELLMANN, E. | |
| 78 | KELSALL, Lieut. H. J., R.A. | Fort Canning, Singapore. |
| 79 | KENNEDY, ARCHIBALD | Batu Gajah, Kinta, Perak. |
| 80 | KENNEDY, E. | Penang. |
| 81 | KER, T. RAWSON | Johor Bharu, Johor. |
| 82 | KNIGHT, ARTHUR | Grassdale, River Valley Road, Singapore. |
| 83 | KOEK, EDWIN | Clare Grove, Orchard Road, Singapore. |
| 84 | KROM MUN DEWAWONGSE VAROPRAKAR, H. R. H. Prince | Bangkok. |
| 85 | KYNNERSLEY, C. W. S. | |

## MEMBERS FOR 1891,—*Continued.*

| Nos. | Names. | Addresses. |
|---|---|---|
| 86 | LAUGHER, H. | Raffles Institution, Singapore. |
| 87 | LAVINO, G. | Spring Grove, Grange Road, Singapore. |
| 88 | LAWES, Revd. W. G. (Honorary Member) | Port Moresby, New Guinea. |
| 89 | LEASK, Dr. J. T. | Waterloo, River Valley Road, Singapore. |
| 90 | LEES, F. BALFOUR | Singapore Insurance Company Limited. |
| 91 | LEMPRIÈRE, E. T. | Labuan. |
| 92 | LEWIS, JOHN E. A., B.A. | Government Printing Office, Sarawak. |
| 93 | LISTER, Hon. MARTIN | Negri Sembilan (on leave.) |
| 94 | LITTLE, R. M. | Gaya, Sandakan. |
| 95 | LOGAN, D. | Solicitor-General, Penang. |
| 96 | LOW, Sir HUGH, G.C.M.G. | England. |
| 97 | MACBEAN, W. | Straits Insurance Office. |
| 98 | MARTENS, Dr. | |
| 99 | MARTIN, Dr. L. | Mabar Estate, Deli, Sumatra. |
| 100 | MAXWELL, R. W. | Inspector-General's Office, Singapore. |
| 101 | MAXWELL, W. E., C.M.G. | Kwala Lumpur, Selangor. |
| 102 | MCKILLOP, J. | Pulau Brani, Singapore. |
| 103 | MEREWETHER, E. M. | Singapore. |
| 104 | MILLER, JAMES | Gilfillan, Wood & Co., Singapore. |
| 105 | MUHRY, O. | Behn, Meyer & Co., Singapore. |
| 106 | NANSON, WM., B.A., F.S.A. | Craigton, Tanglin, Singapore. |
| 107 | NAPIER, W. J., M.A. | Mount Alma, Dalvey Road, Singapore. |

## MEMBERS FOR 1891,—*Continued.*

| Nos. | Names. | Addresses. |
|---|---|---|
| 108 | NEAVE, D. C. | Cluny Road, Tanglin, Singapore. |
| 109 | NEWTON, HOWARD | Grasslands, St. Thomas Walk, Singapore. |
| 110 | NORONHA, H. L. | Devonshire Road, Singapore. |
| 111 | O'SULLIVAN, A. W. S., B.A. | England. |
| 112 | PATERSON, D. W. | Guthrie & Co., Singapore. |
| 113 | PAUL, W. F. B. | Sungei Ujong. |
| 114 | PERHAM, Revd. J. (Honorary Member) | River Valley Road, Singapore. |
| 115 | PICKERING, W. A., C.M.G. | England. |
| 116 | RAFFRAY, A. | French Consulate, Singapore. |
| 117 | READ, W. H. M., C.M.G. | c/o A. L. Johnston & Co. |
| 118 | REITH, Revd. G. M., M.A. | Mount Elizabeth, Singapore. |
| 119 | RICKETT, C. B. | |
| 120 | RIDLEY, H. N., M.A., F.L.S. | Botanic Gardens, Singapore. |
| 121 | RODGER, J. P. | Pekan, Pahang. |
| 122 | ROST, Dr. REINHOLD | India Office Library, London, S. W. |
| 123 | ROWELL, Dr. T. IRVINE | England. |
| 124 | SARAWAK, H. H. The Raja of, K.C.M.G. (Honorary Member) | Kuching, Sarawak. |
| 125 | SATOW, E. M., C.M.G. (Honorary Member) | Monte Video. |
| 126 | SCHAALJE, M. | Batavia. |
| 127 | SCOTT, Dr. DUNCAN | Batu Gajah, Kinta, Perak. |
| 128 | SEAH LIANG SEAH. | Chop "Chin Hin," Singapore. |

## MEMBERS FOR 1891,—*Continued.*

| Nos. | Names. | Addresses. |
|---|---|---|
| 129 | SEAH SONG SEAH | Chop "Chin Hin," Singapore. |
| 130 | SERGEL, V. | Brinkmann & Co., Singapore. |
| 131 | SHELFORD, The Hon'ble T. | Broadfields, Paterson Road, Singapore. |
| 132 | SKINNER, The Hon'ble A. M., C.M.G. | Resident Councillor, Penang. |
| 133 | SMITH, H. E. Sir CECIL CLEMENTI, M.A., K.C.M.G. | Government House. |
| 134 | SOHST, T. | Mount Rosie, Chancery Lane, Singapore. |
| 135 | SOURINDRO MOHUN TAGORE, Raja, Mus. Doc. | Calcutta, India. |
| 136 | STRINGER, C. | One Tree House, Grange Road, Singapore. |
| 137 | ST. CLAIR, W. G. | Singapore Free Press Office, Singapore. |
| 138 | SWETTENHAM, F. A., C.M.G. | Resident, Perak. |
| 139 | SYED MOHAMED BIN AHMED AL SAGOFF | |
| 140 | SYERS, H. C. | Kwala Lumpur, Selangor. |
| 141 | SYED ABUBAKER BIN OMAR AL JUNIED | |
| 142 | TALBOT, A. P. | Assistant Colonial Secretary's House, Singapore. |
| 143 | TAN KIM CHING | Siamese Consul-General, Singapore. |
| 144 | THOMPSON, A. B. | Deli, Sumatra. |
| 145 | THOROLD, F. THOROLD | Perak. |
| 146 | TREACHER, W. H., C.M.G. | Secretary to Government, Perak. |

## MEMBERS FOR 1891,—*Continued.*

| Nos. | Names. | Addresses. |
|---|---|---|
| 147 | TRÜBNER & Co. | Ludgate Hill, London, E.C. |
| 148 | VAN BENINGEN VAN HELSDINGEN, Dr. R. | Deli, Sumatra. |
| 149 | VERMONT, The Hon'ble J. M. B. | Batu Kawan Estate, Province Wellesley. |
| 150 | WALKER, Lieut.-Col. R. S. F., C.M.G. | Perak (on leave). |
| 151 | WALKER, H. | Land and Survey Department, Sandakan, B. N. B. |
| 152 | WATSON, E. A. | Bentong, Pahang. |
| 153 | WEST, F. G. | |
| 154 | WRAY, L. | Perak. |
| 155 | WRAY, L., Jr. | Perak Museum, Perak. |
| 156 | WRENCH, W. T. | Raffles Institution, Singapore. |
| 157 | YULE, Colonel HENRY, R.E., C.B. (Honorary Member) | Penywern Road, London, S. W. |

Members are requested to inform the Secretary of any change of address or decease of members in order that the list may be as complete as possible.

All communications concerning the publications of the Society should be addressed to the Secretary; all subscriptions to the Treasurer.

Members may have on application forms authorising their Bankers or Agents to pay their subscription to the Society regularly each year.

# PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING
OF THE
STRAITS BRANCH
OF THE
# ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
HELD AT THE
RAFFLES MUSEUM
ON
FRIDAY, 16th JANUARY, 1891.

---

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Sir J. FREDERICK DICKSON, K.C.M.G., *President,* the Right Rev. Bishop G. F. HOSE, D.D., *Vice-President,* E. KOEK, Esq., *Honorary Treasurer,* the Hon'ble J. W. BONSER, W. DAVISON, Esq., H. L. NORONHA, Esq., and A. KNIGHT, Esq., *Councillors;* A. RAFFRAY, Esq., H. ESCHKE, Esq., J. MACKILLOP, Esq., the Revd. J. PERHAM, the Revd. G. M. REITH, W. G. ST. CLAIR, Esq., Dr. W. BOTT, W. J. NAPIER, Esq.; and H. N. RIDLEY, Esq., *Honorary Secretary.*

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The Annual Report was read by the Honorary Secretary, and, on the motion of Mr. ESCHKE seconded by Mr. ST. CLAIR, was unanimously adopted.

The list of Members elected by the Council was then read, and their election confirmed.

The President addressed the meeting, referring to the improvement upon last year's publications and to the improved state of the funds of the Society.

A ballot was then taken for the election of Officers and Council, for the year 1891, with the following result:—

*President,*—The Hon'ble Sir J. FREDERICK DICKSON, K.C.M.G.
*Vice-Presidents,*—Singapore: The Right Rev. Bishop G. F. HOSE, D.D.; Penang: D. LOGAN, Esq.
*Honorary Secretary,*—H. N. RIDLEY, Esq.
*Honorary Treasurer,*—E. KOEK, Esq.
*Councillors,*—W. DAVISON, Esq., A. KNIGHT, Esq., the Hon'ble J. W. BONSER, H. L. NORONHA, Esq., and Lieut. H. J. KELSALL, R.A.

The meeting then closed.

* * *

# ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE STRAITS BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, FOR THE YEAR 1890.

In presenting this report, the Council are happy to state that the affairs of the Society are financially quite satisfactory, and further to congratulate the Society upon its renewed activity, as evinced by the larger accession of members than during previous years, and by the increasing numbers of papers of good quality brought before the Society.

Since the last General Meeting, thirty-one members have been elected by the Council, subject to confirmation, under Rule XI, by the General Meeting. They are the following:—

Mr. H. H. Everett.
Mr. E. E. Everett.
Dr. W. L. Braddon.
Mr. E. R. Hutchinson.
Mr. W. J. Napier.
Mr. G. Gaggino.
Mr. H. Eschke.
Mr. J. E. A. Lewis.
Mr. A. Raffray.
Mr. D. C. Neave.
Mr. S. Allingham.
Mr. Howard Newton.
Rev. G. M. Reith.
Dr. W. N. Bott.
Dr. Keith.
Col. A. Burton-Brown, R.A.
Mr. J. McKillop.
Mr. F. Balfour-Lees.
Mr. D. W. Paterson.
Mr. C. L. Houthuysen.
Mr. F. Walker Hill.
Mr. H. Ebhardt.
Mr. Seah Song Seah.
Hon. Martin Lister.
Mr. W. Macbean.
Dr. Martens.
Dr. J. T. Leask.
Mr. W. T. Wrench.
Lieut. H. J. Kelsall, R.A.
Mr. J. Claine.
Mr. F. G. West.

The following gentlemen resigned at the end of the year:—Mr. W. ADAMSON, Mr. S. GILFILLAN, Mr. VAN LANGEN, Mr. S. L. THORNTON.

At the last General Meeting it was agreed to institute Corresponding Members for the different out-lying districts, who should assist the Society by forwarding contributions to the Society's Journal and other publications, procuring additional members, and otherwise looking after the best interests of the Society in their districts.

The following gentlemen have kindly consented to accept the position of Corresponding Members:—Dr. MARTENS (for Sumatra), the Hon'ble D. F. A. HERVEY (for Malacca), Mr. W. E. MAXWELL, C.M.G. (for Selangor), Mr. L. WRAY (for Perak), Dr. TREUB (for Batavia), Mr. HALE (for Negri Sembilan), Mr. H. H. EVERETT (for Borneo).

The new edition of the map is still in the publisher's hands, but will be very shortly before the Society. Much new material has been added, especially from the districts of Kelantan, Pahang, Selangor, Perak and Kedah.

The old edition of 1887 has been almost entirely sold out.

During the year, Journal No. 21 was published, and No. 22 will be in the hands of members in a few days; with this number will be published a complete list of the literature dealing with Malayan subjects brought out during 1888, 1889 and up to June, 1890, compiled by Mr. C. DAVIES SHERBORN. It is proposed to publish a similar list every year.

A Conversazione given by the President and Council was held in June, when Professor VAUGHAN STEVENS exhibited a collection of ethnological specimens from the Sakeis; there was a large attendance.

The Society's library has been sorted and re-arranged, and a Catalogue of it will shortly be made.

Through the liberality of the Government the sum of $500 has again been placed on the Estimates to assist in the publication of the map.

H. N. RIDLEY,
*Honorary Secretary.*

*Singapore, 15th January, 1891.*

## STRAITS BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

### Honorary Treasurer's Cash Account from 1st January to 31st December, 1890.

| | | $ | c. | | | $ | c. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1890. | Balance on 31st December, 1889, | 787 | 95 | 1890. | To paid for 50 Reams of Royal Paper, ... ... | 300 | 00 |
| | By Subscriptions for 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889 and 1890, | 718 | 14 | | „ „ for preparing Map of Malay Peninsula, &c., | 76 | 19 |
| | „ Government of the Straits Settlements, ... ... | 500 | 00 | | „ „ for setting up Journal No. 20, ... ... | 136 | 00 |
| | „ Proceeds of Sale of Indo-China Essays,... ... ... | 10 | 00 | | „ „ for setting up Journal No. 21, ... ... | 119 | 00 |
| | „ Proceeds of Sale of Hikayat Abdullah, ... ... | 1 | 00 | | „ „ Clerk's Salary from 1st January to 31st December, 1890, ... | 120 | 00 |
| | „ Proceeds of Sale of Journals, | 11 | 80 | | „ „ for Postages, Freights, Advertisements, Stationery and Miscellaneous Expenses, ... | 64 | 46 |
| | „ Proceeds of Sale of Notes and Queries, ... ... | 0 | 60 | | „ „ Mr. C. D. Sherborn, London, ... ... | 117 | 43 |
| | „ Mr. K. F. Koehler, Leipzig, being proceeds of Journals, ... ... | 19 | 36 | | „ „ Balance in favour of the Society, ... .. | 1,115 | 77 |
| | $ | 2,048 | 85 | | $ | 2,048 | 85 |

Singapore,
*15th January*, 1891.

EDWIN KOEK,
*Honorary Treasurer.*

## ASSETS AND LIABILITIES ON 31st DECEMBER, 1890.

| 1890. | ASSETS. | $ | c. | 1890. | LIABILITIES. | $ | c. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Subscriptions for 1885 outstanding, | 5 | 00 | | *Nil.* | | |
| | Do. 1886 do., | 10 | 00 | | | | |
| | Do. 1887 do., | 40 | 00 | | | | |
| | Do. 1888 do., | 60 | 00 | | | | |
| | Do. 1889 do., | 105 | 00 | | | | |
| | Do. 1890 do., | 182 | 00 | | | | |
| | 5,230 Copies of the Journal of the Straits Asiatic Society in hand. ... ... ... | ... | | | | | |
| | 1,053 Copies of Notes and Queries in hand. ... ... | ... | | | | | |
| | 24 Copies of old Map of the Malay Peninsula in hand. ... | ... | | | | | |
| | 7 Copies of new Map of the Malay Peninsula in hand. ... | ... | | | | | |
| | 24 Copies of the 1st Series of Indo-China Essays in hand. ... | ... | | | | | |
| | 52 Copies of the 2nd Series of Indo-China Essays in hand. .. | ... | | | | | |
| | 50 Copies of Hikayat Abdullah in hand. ... ... | ... | | | | | |
| | 9 Copies of the new Map of the Malay Peninsula with Mr. STANFORD, London. ... | ... | | | | | |

# ASSETS AND LIABILITIES ON 31st DECEMBER, 1890,—*Continued.*

| 1890. | ASSETS. | $ | c. | 1890. | LIABILITIES. | $ | c. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 10 Copies Indo-China Essays, 1st Series, with Messrs. Kelly & Walsh Limited, ... ... | ... | | | *Nil.* | | |
| | 19 Copies Indo-China Essays, 2nd Series, with Messrs. Kelly & Walsh Limited. ... ... | ... | | | | | |
| | 7 Copies Notes and Queries with Messrs. John Little & Co. ... | ... | | | | | |
| | 5 Copies of Indo-China Essays with Messrs. John Little & Co. | ... | | | | | |
| | 142 Copies of Journal in hand of Messrs. Trübner & Co. ... | ... | | | | | |

Singapore
*15th January,* 1891.

EDWIN KOEK,
*Honorary Treasurer.*

# RAJA HAJI.

BEING on a visit to Singapore in October last I found myself one day in the Raffles Library, and it occurred to me that it would be interesting to look over the Malay manuscripts on the shelves of the Logan Collection of philological books. Guided by a catalogue, I selected a thin, discoloured manuscript described as "Sha'ir Acheh," wondering that there should have been a poem about Acheh in Logan's time, though the Dutch expeditions to Acheh have made us familiar with the effusions of Malay poetasters thereon in later days. The first verse contained an allusion to Selangor, and it soon became apparent that the document had nothing to do with Acheh, but was a ballad relating the adventures and death of a certain Raja Haji in Malacca. The names of persons, including those of the Dutch commanders who led the attack in which the Malay hero of the ballad lost his life, were given, so it was evidently a work contemporaneous with the events which it described. I borrowed the manuscript from the Library and set to work to collect all available information about Raja Haji's attack upon Malacca in the last century. Materials were plentiful; Begbie * devotes five pages (pp. 65—69) to the subject and Netscher † has published (in Dutch) the text of the official diary kept in the fortress of Malacca from day to day during the stirring events of 1783–4, the source, apparently, from which Begbie got his information. And besides the English and Dutch accounts I found a long description of Raja Haji's invasion of Malacca in a Malay historical work called "Tuhfat-el-nafis," which treats of the Malay Rajas of Bugis extraction in the Straits of Malacca.

I subjoin the text (Romanised) of the Malay ballad preserved by Logan, and probably acquired by him during one of his visits to Malacca some forty years ago. It is evidently the work of a Malacca Malay, friendly to the Dutch and perhaps in their service, who looked upon the Selangor invaders as robbers and the Bugis

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* "The Malayan Peninsula," Madras, 1834.

† "Twee Belegeringen van Malakka."

as pirates. I have not ventured to attempt to translate it. The character of Malay poetry makes it almost impossible to make *pantuns* readable in an English dress. The story is carried on in the third and fourth lines of each stanza only, the first two lines being either mere tags on which to hang the rhyme, or, at the best, some figurative statement, a kind of background against which to set the picture. To read ninety-five stanzas like the following would give little idea of the effect of the original:—

*Near the house of Inche Sabtu.*
*The siyakap fish from the sea of Banca.*
The corpse was cast into a cleft of the rocks,
Of him who had boasted he would take Malacca.

*The siyakap fish from the sea of Banca.*
*Si Tuah runs away with the tray.*
His intention was to take Malacca,
Little aware that his life would be lost.

*Si Tuah runs off with the tray.*
*Wood is turned by Si Naga Wangsa.*
Little thought he that his life would be lost.
The body was removed by the Governor of Malacca.

The literary merit of the poem is not great, but it is of considerable historical interest and will be valued in Malacca as the work of some local bard of the last century, who celebrated in the best language he could command the successful repulse of the raid attempted on his native city.

Begbie's account of the cause of the quarrel between the Yang-di-per-tuan Muda of Riouw and the Dutch, and of the fighting that ensued is an appropriate preface to the Malacca ballad *:—

"At this period (A.D. 1782; Heg. 1194) Pieter Geraldas de Brigu was the Governor of Malacca, being assisted by five other individuals as Members of Council: these were (1) the President of the Court of Justice, (2) the Commanding Officer of the Troops, (3) the Master Attendant, (4) the Fiscal, and (5) the Winkellier, or Superintendant of the Company's trade. Few readers need to be reminded that a severe contest was being maintained at this epoch by the English against the united strength of the French and Dutch nations, Gerrid Pangal was also Resident of the island of Rhio, another Dutch settlement in the vicinity of Singapore, Rajah Hadgi was the Rajah Moodah, or Iyang de Pertuan Moodah, of the same place, and Sulthaun Mahomed Shah, Sulthaun of the small island of Linggin. An English merchantman was attacked by a French man-of-war somewhere in the Indian Archipelago, but, managing to make her escape, put into Rhio for protection. It must be remembered that, although the Dutch possessed a Colony here, it was as yet but in its infancy, and their authority merely nominal. The Englishman consequently relied upon the neutrality of the Rajah Moodah."

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* The spelling of the original has been retained.

"Pangal, anxious as he was to obtain the merchantman as a prize, was therefore unable to seize her without the permission of Rajah Hadgi, which he accordingly sought and obtained upon condition that he should receive a fair proportion of the booty. Pangal lost no time in communicating with the Governor of Malacca, who forthwith despatched a fast sailing French corvette that was lying in the roads, by whom she was seized, carried to Batavia, and sold, the French and Dutch dividing the proceeds between them."

"Rajah Hadgi in vain demanded his proportion of the prize, for the more powerful confederates laughed at his pretensions. Indignant at this shameless breach of agreement by the Dutch, who were *nationally* concerned in it, the disappointed Rajah Moodah declared war against them the following year. To meet this declaration Francis Lenckner, the President of the Court of Justice, was despatched to Rhio from Malacca at the close of the year in command of about seventeen small vessels and six hundred troops, a most incongruous appointment for a man of law. Lenckner's expedition terminated as might have been foreseen. He was not only totally defeated, and obliged to crowd all canvas in his retreat, taking with him the settlers of Rhio, but also to leave behind one of his vessels, which had been stranded on the bar, and could not be floated off."

"Flushed with this success, Rajah Hadgi determined the ensuing year to attack Malacca; he therefore equipped a fleet of one hundred and seventy vessels, carrying a large body of men, with which he sailed for the Moar River."

"The Dutch, as timorous in the hour of peril as they had been perfidious when the rule of the strongest was theirs, despatched one of their number, Abraham D'Wind, a gentleman whose influence with the natives was very considerable, to expostulate with the exasperated Rajah Moodah, and deprecate his vengeance. But if the Dutch really hoped that they could again cajole him, they were quickly undeceived by the rapid return of their ambassador, who accounted himself but too happy in having been able to effect his escape with his life."

"Rajah Hadgi, having weighed anchor, now came off Katapang, a small village situated about five miles easterly of Malacca, and opposite the Water islands; here he disembarked and erected a stockade on the sea shore, in which he took up his head-quarters, having with him about 1,000 armed followers, and 300 women. Close to this village is a spot called Poongoor, where Mr. D'Wind had a house and grounds, but, the communication between it and Malacca being merely a narrow footpath leading through a dense jungle, Rajah Hadgi was convinced that regular troops would never think of passing through so dangerous a defile as long as there were more eligible points of attack. He therefore left the stockade open on this face,* throwing up a simple *paggah*, or stout bamboo fence, in lieu of it: as an additional source of security he advanced a party to Mr. D'Wind's house."

"Meanwhile, the Rajah of Salangore, an independent State about forty miles to the westward of Malacca, who had married a daughter of Rajah Hadgi, sailed up the Linggy river, which disembogues itself about twenty-five miles from Malacca, and having captured some Malacca Klings (or natives of Coromandel) who were residing at Rumbow, returned down the river; he then sailed along the coast, reducing the whole country to the westward as far as Tanjong Kling, seven miles from Malacca."

"At the period of which I am treating, the now populous neighbourhood of Tranqueirah, which forms the western suburb of Malacca, consisted merely of a few houses spotted here and there in a thick jungle, which was peculiarly favourable for the operation of a Malayan enemy; the Dutch, thus beleaguered both eastward and westward, were unable to prevent the approach of the Rajah of Salangore to the second Tranqueirah bridge which is only about one mile from the fort of Malacca, whilst Rajah Hadgi advanced as far as Oojong Passir, the whole of the country to the northward, as far as Pangkallang Rammah, being in the hands of the confederates."

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* "One side of a Malayan stockade is always left open for the convenience of retreat, as the defenders never wait for the bayonet. As this side is generally resting on the jungle, and all the paths, except those they retreat by, are planted with ranjows, their loss is generally trifling, being screened by their works from the enemy's fire in the first instance, and safe from pursuit in the second."

" At this crisis of their affairs, the Dutch were unhappily at variance amongst themselves. Togar Aboe, the commander of a 36-gun frigate, then lying in the Malacca roads, roundly charged D'Wind with treachery, and the latter was accordingly arrested. The charge not being substantiated he was subsequently set at liberty by order of the Batavian Government, and shortly afterwards the frigate accidentally blew up, thus adding to the difficulties of the Dutch."

" They were at length considerably relieved by the appearance of a fleet consisting of three ships and two brigs from Batavia under the command of Admiral Van Braam, who dropped anchor between the Water islands and Katapang on the main land and maintained a constant fire on the stockade of Rajah Hadgi, who returned it as briskly. Van Braam, taking advantage of a dark night, laid down a succession of anchors, with hawsers attached to each, between his vessels and the shore. Having on board six hundred Javanese bayonets, he landed this party about four in the morning without noise by means of the hawsers, and directed it to remain concealed at Purnoo till daybreak. In order to divert the enemy's attention from that quarter, the fleet continued its cannonade until the signal was made for the attack of the land column which, falling suddenly upon the stockade, dispersed the enemy with the loss of 450 killed. Rajah Hadgi was numbered amongst the slain having been killed by nearly the last round shot fired from the fleet."

" Directly that the Admiral saw the Dutch colour flying over the stockade he landed, but, not having as yet learned the death of the Rajah, he concluded that he had marched for Malacca after having evacuated the stockade. He therefore put his troops in rapid motion for that place, but discovered the real state of affairs on arriving at Poongoor. Rajah Hadgi's body was found after some search, and brought into Malacca, where it was interred on St. Paul's Hill."

The following is the Romanised text of the Malay ballad:—

## SHA'IR RAJA HAJI.

Bentangor batang merbau
  Perling di-dalam perangkap
Raja Salangor tiba ka Rembau
  Orang Kling habis ter-tangkap.

Perling di-dalam perangkap
  Raya di hulu be-rampas-an
Orang Kling lalu ter-tangkap
  Dato' Penghulu me-lepas-kan.

Raya di hulu be-rampas-an
  Ter-layang batang lembing
Dato' Penghulu me-lepas-kan
  Di-suroh Pa'Sayang * membawa Kling

Ter-layang batang lembing
  Rumpun temu di-dalam raga
Di-suroh Pa'Sayang membawa Kling
  Lalu ber-temu pada Wolanda.

Rumpun temu di-dalam raga
  Benang di kayu laka
Sudah ber-temu pada Wolanda
  Pa'Sayang ter-bilang di Malaka.

Bilang pinang di kayu laka
  China menampi di-dalam prahu
Pa'Sayang ter-bilang di Malaka
  Shina Tambi † di-jumput men-jamu.

China menampi di-dalam prahu
  Di-dalam dulang ikan belanak
Shina Tambi jumput men-jamu
  Pa'Sayang pulang mengambil anak.

Di dalam dulang ikan belanak
  Bentangor kayu ber-batang
Pa'Sayang pulang mengambil anak
  Orang Salangor pun sudah datang.

Bentangor kayu ber-batang
  Bunga tanjung ber-tali-tali
Orang Salangor pun sudah datang
  Raiyat Tanjong ‡ pun sudah lari.

Bunga tanjung ber-tali-tali
  Bentangor batang ber-duri
Orang Tanjong pun sudah lari
  Raiyat Salangor masok men-churi.

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* *Pa'Sayang:* apparently an influential Malay. *Baba Sayang* is still the favourite burden of Malacca songs.

† *Shina Tambi:* a Malacca Kling.

‡ *Tanjong:* Tanjong Kling, about seven miles from Malacca.

Bentangor batang ber-duri
Sungei Raya negri Asahan
Raiyat Salangor masok men-churi
Sakalian kampong di-binasa-kan.

Sungei Raya negri Asahan
Merbu ber-bunyi di kayu ara
Habis raiyat di-binasa-kan
Kerbau di-churi muntah-kan darah.

Merbu ber-bunyi di kayu ara
Tetak akar pisang rajahan
Kerbau di-churi muntah-kan darah
Hilang asal ka-raja-an.

Tetak akar pisang rajahan
Bakul lama ber-isi duri
Hilang asal ka-raja-an
Tinggal-kan nama Raja penchuri.

Bakul ber-isi duri
Deri Ligor ka Manja Sanun
Tinggal-kan nama Raja penchuri
Raiyat Salangor masok menyamun.

Deri Ligor ka Manja Sanun
Bandéra ber-sri-sri
Orang Salangor masok menyamun,
Orang Tangkéra * masok negri.

Bandéra ber-sri-sri
Serindit ber-duyun-duyun
Orang Tangkéra masok negri,
Orang Peringgit † pun habis turun.

Serindit ber-duyun-duyun
Tempurong di-buat sendok
Orang Peringgit habis turun
Orang Duyong ‡ pun sudah bilok.

Tempurong di-buat sendok
Buah laka di-dalam kedut
Orang Duyong pun sudah bilok
Di-dalam Malaka baharu gelut.

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* *Tangkéra:* Tranquéra, a suburb of Malacca.

† *Peringgit:* a Malay *kampong* near Malacca.

‡ *Duyong:* a river and sea-coast village south of Malacca, the inhabitants of which apparently joined the invaders.

Buah laka di-dalam kedut
  Pergi ka teluk menarah papan
Di-dalam Malaka baharu gelut
  Nasi ter-sendok tidak ter-makan.

Pergi ka teluk menarah papan
  Gergaji belah-kan tampang
Nasi ter-sendok tidak ter-makan
  Raja Haji tiba Teluk Katapang.

Gergaji belah-kan tampang
  Ikat pita tuntu-tuntu
Raja Haji tiba Teluk Katapang
  Pasang palita sagenap pintu.

Ikat pita tuntu-tuntu
  Pijat-pijat banyak me-lata
Pasang palita sagenap pintu
  Mahu di-lihat dengan nyata.

Pijat-pijat banyak me-lata
  Telepuk di tudong saji
Mahu di-lihat dengan nyata
  Takut-kan raiyat si Raja Haji.

Telepuk di tudong saji
  Handak menyiram ka perigi
Takut-kan raiyat si Raja Haji
  Masok menyelap di-dalam negri.

Handak menyiram ka perigi
  Kilat datang dengan chuacha-nya
Masok menyelap di-dalam negri
  Kalau tidak dengan nyata-nya.

Kilat datang dengan chuacha-nya
  Di-dalam bilek permeisuri
Kalau tidak dengan nyata-nya
  Membawa faʿil * seperti penchuri.

Di-dalam bilek permeisuri
  Hiyu di Pulau Indra Giri
Membawa faʿil seperti penchuri
  Mati bulur † dia sendiri.

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* *Faʿil:* behaviour.
† *Bulur:* hunger.

Hiyu di Pulau Indra Giri
Punggor pinang rumah To'Alu
Mati bulur dia sendiri
Tiada keniang memakan sagu.

Punggor pinang rumah To'Alu
Tali layang ber-perut-perut
Tiada keniang memakan sagu
Minum-kan ayer sakit perut.

Tali layang ber-perut-perut
Kembang pudak * bunga sena
Minum-kan ayer sakit perut
Serta pula tidor di tanah.

Kembang pudak bunga sena
Bunga chempaka di-dalam chembu
Sudah pula tidor di tanah
Tanah Malaka apa di-tunggu.

Bunga chempaka di-dalam chembu
Kranji di-dalam lukah
Tanah Malaka apa di-tunggu
Raja Haji yang punya suka.

Kranji di-dalam lukah
Ubur-ubur deri China
Raja Haji yang punya suka
Handak ber-kubu di Bukit China.

Ubur-ubur deri China
Tetak tenggiri di-bawah batang
Handak ber-kubu di Bukit China
Maka sendiri garangan datang.

Tetak tenggiri di-bawah batang
Salah nama orang mengaji
Patut sendiri garangan datang
Sudah ber-nama si Raja Haji.

Salah nama orang mengaji
Kumbu di-dalam jala
Sudah ber-nama si Raja Haji
Maka ber-temu pada Wolanda.

Kumbu di-dalam jala
Handak menangkap ikan sembilang
Sudah ber-temu pada Wolanda
Ka-asa dapat ka-dua hilang.

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* *Pudak* : pandanus inermis.

Handak menangkap ikan sembilang
Sudah ber-galah lagi ber-tali
Ka-asa dapat ka-dua hilang
Ayoh Allah apa-kan jadi.

Sudah ber-galah lagi ber-tali
Ular naga panjang chula-nya
Ayoh Allah apa-kan jadi
Malam ber-jaga siyang ber-kubu. *

Ular naga panjang chula-nya
Terendak ber-jari-jari
Malam ber-jaga siyang ber-kubu
Ini-lah kahandak si Raja Haji.

Terendak ber-jari-jari
Sikejang bunga sa-pagi
Ini-lah per-buat-an si Raja Haji
Seperti anjing dengan babi. †

Sikejang bunga sa-pagi
Tetak batang di-dalam padi
Fa'il bagei anjing dan babi
Tiada berani masok negri.

Tetak batang di-dalam padi
Priuk ber-isi arang
Tiada berani masok negri
Raja Bru ‡ Raja Siamang.

Priuk ber-isi arang
Si Kilang deri Rumbia
Raja Bru Raja Siamang
Hilang asal dengan mulia.

Si Kilang deri Rumbia
Menggulei kapala todak
Hilang asal dengan mulia
Antah-kan dapat antah tidak.

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* *Sic* in original. The second and fourth lines do not rhyme; *Siyang-berkubu malam ber-jaga* would be better.

† The Dutch sympathies of the author are here evinced, Raja Haji (who is still looked on as a hero and martyr in Riouw and Selangor) being described as behaving like a dog or a pig, words abhorrent to Muhammadan ears.

‡ There is a pun here on the name of the Dutch Governor, de Bruijn. Raja Haji is described as hesitating to attack the fort from fear of the big monkey (*bruk*) there.

Menggulei kapala todak
  Buah laka di atas tu *
Antah-kan dapat antah tidak
  Raja Malaka handak di-tipu.

Buah laka di atas tu
  Inche Usoh memasang lilin
Raja Malaka handak di-tipu
  Musoh sudah ber-koliling.

Inche Usoh memasang lilin
  Bandahara mandi di tepi kota
Musoh sudah ber-koliling
  Apa-kan jadi garangan kita?

Bandahara mandi di tepi kota
  Banyak lontar di Indragiri
Apa-kan jadi garangan kita
  Seperti onta menyerah-kan diri.

Banyak lontar di Indra giri
  Dalima pagar-kan duri
Sa-bagei onta menyerah-kan diri
  Pa'Sayang ber-jalan sendiri-diri.

Dalima pagar-kan duri
  Inche Ayat pergi ka-pantei
Pa'Sayang pergi mengantar-kan diri
  Raiyat pun sudah habis lari.

Inche Ayat pergi ka parit
  Potong bachang ber-jari-jari
Raiyat pun sudah habis ber-balik
  Pa'Sayang pun datang sambil ber-lari.

Potong bachang ber-jari-jari
  Batang laka buat chuchur-an
Pa'Sayang datang sambil ber-lari
  Ayer mata ber-chuchur-an.

Kayu laka buat chuchur-an
  Mengkarawang kayu meranti
Ayer mata ber-chuchur-an
  Tiada ka-tahu-an di-dalam hati.

Mengkarawang kayu meranti
  Mayang di-dalam kumbu
Tiada ka-tahu-an di-dalam hati
  Pa'Sayang ber-balik masok kubu.

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* *Tu*: *sic* in original. *Pintu*?

Mayang di-dalam kumbu
  Raga ter-sirat deri laka
Pa'Sayang ber-balik masok kubu
  Raja Siak datang ka Malaka.

Raga ter-sirat deri laka
  Bandéra di jati merah
Raja Siak datang ka Malaka
  Di-bawa pergi ka Tangkéra.

Bandéra di jati merah
  Bunga China di Bukit China
Di-bawa pergi ka Tangkéra
  Tinggal di gedong Nyonya Makinya.*

Bunga China di Bukit China
  Kayu di-beli buat cherpu
Tinggal di gedong Nyonya Makinya
  Malayu pandei membuat tipu.

Kayu di-beli buat cherpu
  Kapas-an Pulau Langkawi
Malayu pandei membuat tipu
  Kapal pun tiba deri Batawi.

Kapas-an Pulau Langkawi
  Pulau Hantu laut Malaka
Kapal pun tiba deri Batawi
  Handak mem-bantu tanah Malaka.

Pulau Hantu laut Malaka
  Chuka di-dulang Dato' Mantri
Handak mem-bantu tanah Malaka
  Suka-lah raiyat di-dalam negri.

Chuka di dulang Dato' Mantri
  Orang menyuloh charana papan
Suka-lah raiyat di-dalam negri
  Kapal di-suroh ka Teluk Katapang.

Orang menyuloh charana papan
  Sungei Raya Tanjong Jati
Kapal di tiba ka Telok Katapang
  Raiyat di-suroh jalan kaki.

Sungei Raya Tanjong Jati
  Tanam chempedak rapat-rapat
Raiyat di-suroh jalan kaki
  Satu pun tiada dapat muafakat.

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* See entry in the *Malacca Journal* under date May 14th.

Tanam chempedak rapat-rapat
  Inche Usoh meng-ganti tikar
Satu pun tidak dapat muafakat
  Musoh pun sudah ber-hinti besar.

Inche Usoh meng-ganti tikar
  Tetak buah di-atas galah
Musoh pun suda ber-hinti besar
  Minta-kan do'a kapada Allah.

Tetak buah di-atas galah
  Banyak lintah di Kalkati
Peng-gali gali-kan pinang
  Minta tulong kapada Nabi.

Banyak lintah di Kalkati
  Peng-gali gali-kan pinang
Minta tulong kapada Nabi
  Tiga hari sunto' ber-parang.

Peng-gali di buat parang
  Buah labu deri Jelebu
Tiga hari sunto' ber-parang
  Kapitan Abu * lalu mengerbu.

Buah labu deri Jelebu
  Buah kranji deri hulu
Kapitan Pameram † naik mengerbu
  Raja Haji kena peluru.

Buah kranji deri hulu
  Teropong ter-guling-guling
Raja Haji kena peluru
  Chompong tumpas lari memuting.

Teropong ter-guling-guling
  Inche Abit lari ka pantei
Chompong tumpas lari memuting
  Habis raiyat mati ber-tindih bangkei.

Inche Abit lari ka pantei
  Handak mengambil kain hijau
Raiyat yang mati ber-tindih bangkei
  Ada yang mati ada yang hidop.

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* Foger Abo, a naval officer.—See *Malacca Journal* under dates February 22nd and March 6th.

† Admiral van Braam.

Handak mengganti kain hijau
Tudong saji ber-isi keladi
Ada yang mati ada yang hidop
Raja Haji di-bawa lari.

Tudong saji ber-isi keladi
Orang Tanjong akan meng-galas
Raja Haji di-bawa lari
Lalu di-suro' di Tanjong Palas.

Orang Tanjong akan meng-galas
Dekat rumah Inche Sabtu
Mayat di-bawa ka Tanjong Palas
Lalu ter-selit di chela batu.

Dekat rumah Inche Sabtu
Ikan siyakap deri Bangka
Mayat ter-champak di chelah batu
Chakap mengambil tanah Malaka.

Ikan siyakap deri Bangka
Si Tuah me-lari-kan dulang
Handak mengambil negri Malaka
Tiada sedar jiwa akan hilang.

Si Tuah me-lari-kan dulang
Papan di-larik Si Naga Wangsa
Tiada sedar jiwa pun hilang
Mayat di-ambil Raja Malaka.

Papan di-larik Si Naga Wangsa
Minum ayer di-dalam kota
Mayat di-ambil uleh Wolanda
Di-bawa masok ka-dalam kota.

Minum ayer di-dalam kota
Ampelam buat kelikir
Di-bawa masok ka-dalam kota
Di-tanam pintu mengadap ka-hilir.

Ampelam buat kelikir
Orang meratap di-tanah rata
Di-tanam pintu mengadap ka-hilir
Ratu Amas pun tiba di Malaka.

Orang meratap di tanah rata
Inche Pandak jual keladi
Ratu Amas tiba di-dalam Malaka
Handak ber-kahandak mayat Raja Haji.

Inche Pandak jual keladi
  Banyak udang di-dalam kuali
Handak di-churi mayat Raja Haji
  Blanda ada men-jaga-i.

Banyak udang di-dalam kuali
  Si Dapat bangun menari
Wolanda duduk men-jaga-i
  Patek tidak dapat men-churi.

Si Dapat pandei menari
  Di gaung busut banyak kembili
Patek tidak dapat menchuri
  Lalu meratap anak dan bini.

Di gaung busut banyak kembili
  Puan di-letak atas rantaka
Lalu me-raung anak dan bini
  Istri pun tiada dapat ter-kata.

Puan ter-letak di-atas rantaka
  Orang ber-padi di tanah liat
Istri pun tiada dapat ter-kata
  Mayat-nia pun tiada dapat di lihat.

Orang ber-padi di tanah liat
  Di Mekah banyak buah pedada
Mayat tiada dapat di lihat
  Seperti merekah rasa-nia dada.

Di Mekah banyak buah pedada
  Bunga tanjung di-atas rakit
Bagei me-rekah rasa-nia dada
  Ter-kenang-kan untong dengan nasib.

Bunga tanjung di-atas rakit
  Sarabei di muka pintu
Sudah untong dengan nasib
  Maka sampei sa-hingga-an situ.

Sarabei di muka pintu
  Pergi ka-parit handak me-riau
Maka sampei sa-hingga-an situ
  Ratu Amas lalu ber-balik ka Riau.

Pergi ka-parit handak me-riau
  Situ-lah banyak buah kembili
Istri ber-balik ka tanah Riau
  Serta duduk mem-diam-kan diri.

Fortunately for historians, the Dutch administration in Malacca observed the excellent practice of keeping an official record of passing events, probably for the information of the Government in Batavia, and this diary is still preserved in the archives of the Resident Councillor at Malacca. Some thirty years ago Mr. Netscher, the Dutch Resident of Riouw, obtained the permission of the Governor of the Straits Settlements (Colonel Cavenagh, now Sir Orfeur Cavenagh, K.C.S.I.,) to examine and make extracts from them, and he published under the title of "Two Sieges of Malacca" a little pamphlet containing the text of the Dutch records relating to the attack on Malacca by Daing Kamoja in 1756 and the invasion of Raja Haji in 1784. In each case the invaders were Bugis from Riouw aided by their friends and relations from Selangor, where a Bugis colony had been successfully established. Portions of the history of the attack of 1756 have already been published in this Journal (No. 12, December, 1883, p. 261), and I now give the Dutch official account of the war of 1784, which has been kindly translated for me, from Netscher's "Twee Belegeringen," by my sister Mrs. Isemonger:—

## THE SIEGE OF 1784.

### *Extracts from the Malacca Journal of the year 1784.*

JAN. 7.—There returned from Linggi the ship *Meerenberg* and the private bark *Anthonetta Elisabeth*, which had left for that place on the 2nd instant. The Captain of the first-named boat, Jan Montanje, produced a copy of the journal which he had kept during the expedition, wherein amongst other things it was stated that while lying at the mouth of the river Linggi on the 5th instant he saw about fifty of the enemy's vessels come out of the river, and sail along the coast towards the north, or Strait of Kalang, but that on account of the calm, and the distance of the vessels, he was unable to pursue them; and taking into consideration the superior force of the enemy, and the fact that as they had left Linggi he could not find out the reason of their visit, he returned here.

JAN. 14.—Arrived in the afternoon at about 4 o'clock, six baloos, at Tandjong Kling, and in the evening the unpleasant news was received, through the people of the Chinaman San Somko, that the Selangoer vessels had landed their crews, in all about one hundred men, in the bay of Batang Tiga, that they had not only pursued and fired at him and his slaves, but they had taken one slave prisoner, and that he and the rest had saved themselves by flight.

The Governor, therefore, immediately had a company of thirty native soldiers detached to the Lazarusveld to reinforce the outer battery.

Jan. 15.—The detached company, sent yesterday evening to the outer battery of Tranquéra, with a few armed volunteers, and a company of fifty Malays raised this morning, marched from the Lazarusveld, and by midday had reached the stream near Batang Tiga. They encountered there the Selangoer men who had landed the previous day, and a fight ensued. Some additional men were sent to their assistance and ammunition, but before this reinforcement could reach them the first troops had been obliged to retire, on account of the superior strength of the enemy who numbered about 200 men, with the loss of one man who was shot dead and two wounded. They marched back, however, the enemy not daring to follow them, to the before-mentioned battery which they reached as it got dark.

During the night the enemy set on fire several abandoned Malay huts, and fired a few shots at our advanced posts, but without any effect.

Jan. 16.—It was reported that the enemy were actively occupied in preparing stockades at Batang Tiga, and in burning houses at Batang Tiga and at Tandjong Kling. Firing continued there during the whole day, and the following night.

Jan. 17.—At daybreak, by the orders of Lieut. Auguste Gravestein, a detachment was sent to Batang Tiga consisting of two hundred Native and twenty European soldiers, besides two bombardiers and eight musketeers with two field-pieces of 3 ℔., and one small gun with their appurtenances. To this force was added from two to three hundred volunteers—Chinese, Malays and Gentoos *(Jentieven)*—armed with pikes, cutlasses, and some with blunderbusses, commanded by Abraham Couperus, merchant, and Fiscal * of this Government.†

Marching from the Lazarusveld, they embarked there and rowed to the bay of Batang Tiga, two *steenbokken* ‡ commanded by the second mate, Jan Hendrik Meijer, the armed boat of the ship *Meerenberg*, and three *kakaps* mounted with *rantakas*. These arrived in the bay in front of the enemy's stockade at about 3 o'clock and began to bombard it.

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* In 1576 a Regulation was issued that the Admiralty Court should consist of the "Fiskaal," the Recorder ("Greffier") and seven members. This Court gave judgment on all prizes, booties and crimes at sea, not committed by the crew, which remained subject to the jurisdiction of the Admiral.

† Abraham Couperus afterwards rose to be Governor of Malacca and held that office when Malacca was taken by the British in 1795.—See No. 7 *Journal, Straits Asiatic Society*, p. 58.

‡ Mortars with which stone projectiles were used.

The fight continued between the stockade and the boats for an hour, when the before-mentioned force also approached the enemy, and attacked by land, and the general combat was fierce by land and sea; and three of the guns which had been brought burst and caused a fire, which, however, was soon extinguished.

The enemy attempted once to make a sally on our right wing, but a few volleys from our muskets obliged them to retire into their intrenchments, from which they offered a desperate resistance, and thus saved themselves from being overmastered by our force. The latter from weariness, and in order not to be overtaken by darkness in the jungle, were obliged to cease fighting at 4 o'clock and to retreat. They returned at about 8 o'clock to the outer battery of the Lazarusveld: the armed boats above mentioned also returned. On our side eight men were wounded, of whom one died this evening.

Jan. 22.—The merchant vessel *Shaw Beyramgore*, by Thomas Maughan, arrived from China after a voyage of fifteen days. She brought the unpleasant news that the Company's fleet, after the loss of a ship blown up, had raised the blockade of Riouw, and immediately sailed away, and moreover were already somewhere about the Formoza Rock, where the aforesaid English ship had spoken them in passing.

Jan. 23.—At daybreak sails were noticed towards the south, which soon proved to be a portion of the Company's fleet which had blockaded Riouw. On account of contrary winds they were obliged at nightfall to anchor outside the harbour.

Meanwhile, the Company's ship *Meerenberg* sailed towards the south to bring into the harbour a *wangkang* which had been in sight since yesterday morning.

Jan. 24.—Arrived in the roads the Company's ships *Dolphijn*, *Hof ter Linden*, *De Jonge Hugo*, besides the goerab* *De Snelheid*, the galwet† *Concordia*, and the pantjalangans *Rustenberg* and *Philippine*.

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* *Ghurab*, the Arab name for a galley, a class of native armed vessel called *grab* by the English in the last century. See *Yule's Glossary, sub voce* Grab.

† *Galwet*, gallevat: a kind of galley, or war-boat with oars, of small draught of water, which continued to be employed on the west coast of India down to the latter half of last century. From this is derived the English term "jolly-boat." See *Yule's Glossary, sub voce* Gallevat.

Two Commissioners from the Government landed from the Riouw fleet last night, and also an under-factor, Reijnier Bernhard Hoijnck van Papendrecht, who confirmed the sad news that the small vessel *Malacca's Welvaren*, on board of which, amongst others, was Mr. Arnoldus Franciscus Lemker, the Commander of the aforesaid expedition, had been blown up with a number of people, and that the fleet, because of this and an unsuccessful landing, was forced to break up the blockade and to sail away.

Jan. 26.—Arrived in the roads the second part of the squadron from Riouw, consisting of the Company's vessels *Diamant* and *Hoop* and the cutter *Patriot.*

Jan. 27.—There arrived successively in the roads of the Company's returning fleet from Riouw the cutter *Ondernemer* and the sloops of war *Johanna* and *Ciceroa.* The Commander of the last-named craft that the day before he had spoken the bark *Gertruida Susanna* near the Formoza Rock, since when he had not seen her, that they were out of drinking-water on board, but on account of their own scarcity he had not been able to assist them; consequently the above-mentioned cutter the *Ondernemer*, with the pantjalang *Philippine,* was sent at once to the south in search of the missing bark, the *Gertruida,* to render the necessary assistance.

Feb. 2.—Returned from the south the cutter *Ondernemer* and the pantjalang *Philippine* sent out on January 27 last, without having met the *Gertruida Susanna,* the missing bark of the Company's returning war fleet.

Feb. 4.—The cutters *Patriot* and *Ondernemer*, cruising between Tandjong Kling and the Lazarusveld, together with the *Handelaar* and the galwet *Concordia,* having approached the shore with the rising tide, began at 2 o'clock to fire at the enemy's vessels which were hauled up on the beach, and soon entered into a fight with the enemy's batteries or stockades all along the shore, which fight lasted until sundown when it was observed that they were leaving the shore, and were in pursuit of some of the enemy's vessels which had arrived on the north side of Tandjong Kling.

Though no more could be seen of them because of the darkness, report of cannon was heard now and then until ten o'clock in the evening.

Feb. 5.—A *balo* of the enemy's, captured last night on the north of Tandjong Kling, was brought up by the cutter *Patriot.* It was mounted with two guns of 3 ℔., and loaded with two chests and some balls of opium, some pieces of blue and white linen, about two koyans of rice in kajangs, some bags of cummin seed, etc., as stated in the manifest. The master of the first-mentioned cutter reported that the Company's vessels suffered little or nothing in yesterday's fight, and had lost none of their crews, and of the seven of the enemy's vessels, which they had chased yesterday evening, two which were stranded were disabled, and the *balo* which he had brought was taken after a fight, the crew having been forced to jump overboard; but that the four others had escaped through the darkness of the night.

FEB. 8.—In the afternoon, under command of Lieut. Stecher, Ensigns Maurer, Dufergé and Lintner, and ex-Ensign of the Burghers* Kiliaan, and three Malay Captains, were sent on board for an expedition against the Selangoer Bugis by the vessels lying off Tandjong Kling—viz., the *Dolphijn*, the cutters *Patriot* and *Onderneemer*, the hooker *Handelaar*, the pantjalangs *Philippine* and *Rustenberg*, besides the galwet *Concordia*, with thirty-one European and 184 Malay soldiers from the garrison here, fully armed, besides a large number of volunteers, Heer E. Hoijnck van Papendrecht also went on board the ship *Dolphijn*, he being appointed Receiver and License Master† of the expedition.

At nightfall several of the ships destined for this expedition left the river for the roads with several other vessels, mounted with one 6 lb. gun, four of 3 lb., and one of 1 lb.; some rantakas of native manufacture, and one howitzer of 4 inches. Besides skilful men for rowing and other ordinary work, there were also placed on board the ships, one extra gunner, one bombardier, three gunners, and twenty-seven musketeers.

Further, in the garden of the late Soeratter Malek Faizullah, outside Tranquéra, were posted 200 Nanningers and Achinese from up-country, to be transported next day to Tandjong Kling if the landing there was decided on.

FEB. 9.—In the morning at 4 o'clock the *Dolphijn* and the rest of the vessels destined for the expedition against the Selangoer

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* Semi-military rank.

† In 1593 *licenten* signified the money paid for permits to sell goods, purchased in the Prince's territory, in the territory of the enemy. It became a sort of tax, levied as a kind of export duty.

The *licentmeesters* were charged with collecting these monies. The East India Company paid considerable amounts annually for *licenten* (licences); later in 1677 an agreement was entered into between the Company and the Admiralties, by virtue whereof the Company paid a fixed sum annually.

Bugis left the roads near Tandjong Kling, but remained the whole day lying at anchor before the place without doing anything.

Meantime, at daybreak, with the opening of the gates the news was received that 100 Nanningers, posted in the deceased Malek Faizullah's garden, had run away in the night, but that 100 Achinese who had been with them had already gone on the ships appointed to transport them, and had pushed off intending to go to Tandjong Kling. But they were sent back to land in the afternoon by the Council of War of the above-mentioned expedition.

FEB. 10.—All the vessels and people returned from Tandjong Kling without having done anything.

FEB. 13.—A large number of native vessels, large and small, were observed to the south which all put in to Telok Katapan, and afterwards news was received that they belonged to Radja Hadji and that his people landed at the above-named place.

FEB. 14.—More Riouw vessels with men and ammunition arrived at Telok Katapan.

FEB. 15.—The disastrous news was received that the enemy who landed yesterday and the day before at Telok Katapan, had not only already advanced as far as Poengoer and Toejong and taken possession of them and the country lying round, but that also the inhabitants, except a few who had fled to the hills, had put themselves under the protection of Radja Hadji.

FEB. 16.—News was brought by several Semabok people escaping to the town, that the Riouw Bugis had already arrived there, and had taken possession of the hill.

FEB. 21.—Some volunteers marching to Semabok came into action with the enemy, on our side we lost no one, but on the enemy's, as far as we could see, three men were killed, and the head of one was cut off and brought to town to be exposed.

FEB. 22.—In the morning at 4 o'clock a detachment marched, under command of Lieutenant Duvergé, to Semabok consisting of twenty-seven Europeans, and sixty-two Malay soldiers, besides one extra vuurwerker, one bombardier, two gunners and twelve musketeers, from the garrison, taking with them also two cannon of 3 lb. and a kattekop* of 4 inches, with all their appurtenances. This force was also joined by the Naval Captains Foger Abo and Jacob Frederiks, with some Malay soldiers and their officers, together with some armed European sailors from their ships, and the head administrator of the place, Abraham Couperus, who took with him between two and three hundred Chinese volunteers armed with pikes and other hand weapons.

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* An obsolete piece of artillery.

This corps having approached the enemy's stockade on this side of Semabok began at half-past six or break of day to fire on it with the cannons, and the fight became general and lasted till about half-past nine, when although a breach had been made in the enemy's stockade and several shells had been thrown in, our men were obliged to retire on account of the excessive heat and their fatigue, and arrived together about 11 o'clock in the castle inside the town. The loss of the enemy could not be estimated, but that on our side consisted of one man killed—namely, the third mate of the ship *Dolphijn*, William Marse, and thirty-one wounded, among whom were the bombardier and four European sailors; the 2nd Lieutenant Duvergé had three, and Captain Frederiks of the Navy one bullet through the hat.

Feb. 26.—A force of one captain, one lieutenant, one ensign, four sergeants, six corporals, and fifty Malay soldiers, including some volunteers, marched from the town lines to the garden of the late Soeratta Malek Faizullah, situated outside Tranquéra, where they came into action with the enemy, in the course of which three of the soldiers were wounded, of whom one died of his wounds in the hospital, but it is supposed that the loss of the enemy must have been much greater because they retired hastily behind their intrenchments, and it was seen that several men were carried inside.

Feb. 27.—There were sent from the town lines to the outskirts of Tranquéra, together with a few volunteers, Adrian Koek, the Captain-lieutenant of a regular company of volunteers, a Malay captain, two ensigns, four sergeants, six corporals and fifty privates, besides one gunner and four musketeers with a field-piece. This corps having advanced to the Lazarusveld attacked the enemy's stockade erected there, and as it was at the same time shelled from the sea by the *Concordia* the enemy were soon forced to abandon it, taking with them, however, their ammunition, baggage, dead and wounded.

In the meantime it was getting dark and our force was therefore obliged to return, on which the enemy soon took possession again of the deserted and much shattered stockade. The loss on our side was one Malay soldier wounded.

Feb. 29.—At daybreak the ships which had gone to Telok

Katapan—viz., the *Dolphijn, Diamant, Hoop,* the cutters *Patriot* and *Ondernemer,* and the galwet *Concordia,* attacked the Riouw vessels which were lying there disabled, most of them.

March 3.—On receipt of the news that a body of Selangoerese and Manikabers had advanced as far as the garden of the late Malek Faizullah and were occupied in demolishing the dwelling-house on it, and throwing up breastworks, a detachment of troops and several volunteers were sent from the town lines to the spot, besides a bombardier, a gunner, and six native musketeers with a six-pounder, etc. This force having reached the garden met at first with some resistance, but the enemy, after losing some men, dead and wounded, who were seen carried away, speedily saved themselves by flight to the jungle behind the garden; the evening beginning to fall, our troops marched back and reached the lines about 6 o'clock, not having lost a single man, as only one native soldier and a volunteer were slightly wounded.

March 4.—At daybreak a force marched out to the Lazarusveld, consisting of a corps of one hundred Malay soldiers under command of their officers, with one extra vuurwerker, one bombardier, two gunners, and twelve native musketeers, with two six-pounders, besides about eighty volunteers under command of their Captain-lieutenant Adrian Koek. They attacked the enemy's fortifications there, and twice drove them out, but as the enemy continually got reinforcements out of the surrounding wood, and the evening was coming on, they were obliged to retire with a loss on this occasion of five wounded, of whom two died.

March 6.—The cutter *Patriot,* on board of which was Heer Foger Abo, Naval Captain, was sent to the north to attack, and if possible destroy, the Selangoer vessels which were reported to be lying between Tandjong Kling and Cape Ratjado.

March 7.—The cutter *Patriot* which left yesterday returned from the north. The particulars of the expedition and its result are given in an extract of Captain Abo's report to the Honourable the Government of India.

March 13.—News was received that the enemy were busy constructing a new stockade on the side of the Vrieschenberg, so Lieutenant Siegelitz, who was posted at Bandailhera, and the ex-Ensign of the Burghers, Michael Kiliaan, were sent out with one hundred and fifty native and ten European soldiers, besides the ordinary vuurwerker Diehl and one extra, one gunner and six native musketeers, with one six-pounder and a corps of volunteers. They marched there and drove the enemy back into their intrenchments up to the side of the road towards Semabok, which intrenchments they afterwards attacked, but the enemy made so brave a resistance and our troops were so exhausted from the great heat, that the latter, seeing no chance of taking the place, were obliged to retire. Our loss was two men killed and thirteen wounded, but that of the enemy it was impossible to estimate, for they kept always in the wood, and behind their fortifications, but it was observed that at several points breaches were made.

March 14.—The outer batteries in the Boenga Raja * were attacked several times last night by the enemy, and the Lieutenant posted there, Nicholas Christian Vetter, hearing from native scouts that they had thrown up some intrenchments on the road to Pangkalanrama, he marched out with a corps of one hundred men, attacked the enemy in their fortifications, put them to flight, and destroyed their works, without suffering any loss whatever on this occasion, while that of the enemy, as far as could be seen from those who were carried off to the jungle, must have been, more or less, eighteen men; one of these who was taken by us, was immediately decapitated and his head was brought to town and stuck on a pole outside the town lines.

March 19.—Nothing noteworthy happened, except that, like most nights, first one, then another of the outposts was attacked by the enemy, but they are always repulsed without doing any harm.

March 20.—In the afternoon a vessel was seen towards the south, which seemed to be making for this port, and as it was supposed that it was the sloop of Heer John Henry Wiegerman, of Batavia, which had left for Palembang, the pantjalang *Philippine* was sent to the ship to bring her up to the roads; but to our great astonishment it was noticed that the little ship, which afterwards was seen to be a packet-boat, made many manœuvres to escape from the pantjalang which continued to give chase, but the darkness soon prevented our seeing the ships from the land.

March 21.—At daybreak the pantjalang *Philippine* and the packet-boat which came in sight yesterday were seen at anchor in the roads. The commander of the first-mentioned craft reported, on landing, that it was the packet-boat of the Englishman James Scott, coming from Riouw and bound for Selangoer; that though he had ordered him to strike sail, he continued to sail away, and as he saw him making all sorts of manœuvres to escape, and the owner was a suspected smuggler, he forced him to come to the roads, and had taken Scott himself on board of the *Hof ter Linden.*[*]

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* The eastern suburb of Malacca town.

March 22.—The armed ship *Hoop* and the cutter *Patriot* sailed in the morning to Telok Katapan to fight the enemy.

March 23.—The ships *Hoop* and *Patriot,* which were sent yesterday to Telok Katapan, came back to-day ; the result of the expedition and what they did may be seen from the extract of the journal kept by Naval Lieutenant Hartog.

March 28.—Up to this date nothing noteworthy happened except that almost every night we were disturbed by the enemy, and that a few volunteers outside now and then had a skirmish with some of them.

March 29.—At daybreak there marched out of the fort under command of Lieutenant Anthonij Stecher, Ensigns Duvergé and Lintner and ex-Ensign of the Burghers Kiliaan, a detachment of fifty-seven European and two hundred and twenty Malay soldiers, besides the ordinary and extra vuurwerkers Diehl and Groenewout, one bombardier, a konstabel, three kanonniers and thirty native and Chinese musketeers with two 6 lb., and two 3 lb. guns, a howitzer and a small gun with their appurtenances. Having arrived in the Bandailhera they were divided into three columns or divisions, of which one under Lieutenant Stecher was posted at Boekit Tampocrong, the second under sub-Lieutenant Lintner marched towards Semabok, and the third under command of Ensigns Duvergé and Kiliaan to the zandhoek ; both the first engaged in fight with the enemy, while the third coming from the zandhoek right through the jungle fell on the enemy's battery on the rear, when the fight became general and desperate, so that the enemy were forced by Duvergé's corps twice to retire from one of their batteries, but a swamp, which lay between, prevented them from advancing to take the battery which was much shattered. The enemy profited by this to make some hasty repairs, took possession again, and defended it as obstinately as before, and this lasted until midday, when, on account of the fierce heat and fatigue, the troops were obliged to retire. The defences of the enemy were greatly damaged, some shells and grenades having exploded inside them, but their loss of men cannot be exactly estimated, but it must have been very great, for at first when the fight became general it was observed from Mount St. John that fifteen or sixteen men, who must have been dead or badly wounded, were carried away from their earthworks further towards Semabok; the loss on our side consisted of one killed, Corporal Evans Baving, and eleven wounded, of whom one was a European soldier.

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[*] See mention of Scott in Capt. Lennon's diary (1795), *Journ. Str. Br. R. A. S.*, No. 7, p. 53.

March 31.—An alarm was sounded in the town lines on its being signalled from Boekit Tjina that the enemy were on the march to Boenga Raja, but soon afterwards it was reported that having been welcomed by some cannon shots they had turned back again.

April 1.—The enemy resumed their design of yesterday, and marched from all sides to Boenga Raja, probably to see whether they could break through these; but after some shots had been fired at them from the heavy gun they retired in the same way.

April 8.—Up to the 8th nothing noteworthy occurred, except a few small encounters between our men and the enemy's partisans.

April 11.—In the evening at about 10 o'clock the enemy attacked at the same time the outer batteries of Boenga Raja and Bandailhera and the one under Boekit Tjina, but after firing had gone on for an hour with some intervals they were obliged to draw back without having caused us any damage or loss.

April 13.—Towards the evening the Selangoerese and their hangers-on attacked the Achinese of the Company's service who were encamped on the road to Gerestein, but after a fight of a good half hour they were obliged to retreat to the jungle; likewise a troop of them who let themselves be seen on the field behind the Tranquéra gardens, after a few rounds of grape-shot from the town, were forced to follow their comrades' example.

April 15.—At break of day there marched out to the enemy's batteries on the side of the road to Semabok, under general command of Heer Johan Andrea Hensel, Captain of Militia, Lieut. and Ensigns Anthonij Stecher, Johan Godfried Maurer and Johan Godfried Lintner, with a corps of thirty European and two hundred and twenty-seven Malay soldiers, a company of negro volunteers under their Captain-lieutenant Adrian Koek, the ordinary and extra vuurwerkers Diehl and Groenewout, one bombardier, three kanonniers, forty-four native and Chinese musketeers, and the necessary coolies, taking with them a 24-pounder cannon, two six-pounders and two three-pounders together with a 4-inch howitzer and all appurtenances. Having got close to the enemy's batteries they began to fire, but the ground being soft and muddy the 24-pounder, after a few shots had been fired, sank so deep that it had to be unmounted and afterwards taken back. A 12 lb. gun was sent instead, but for the same reason—the softness of the ground—little use could be made of it and it was again with the 6 and 3-pounders that they continued to fire on the enemy's batteries. The enemy made a bold resistance, and the fight became general and severe, and several bombs were thrown into their fortifications, but though it wasseen that some burst inside, it was impossible to drive the enemy out.

It was as impracticable to pierce the defences with our guns, from the thickness and strength of the walls, as to make use of the hindering quagmire to storm it, without recklessly sacrificing the greater number of the men, and as all were very exhausted by the cruel heat, it was considered advisable at 2 o'clock to march back. As the enemy did not come out of the defences their losses in this action could not be ascertained, but on our side two men were killed on the spot, and thirteen wounded, three mortally.

In the meantime the cutters *Patriot* and *Ondernemer* with the pantjalang *Rustenberg* sailed to Telok Katapan to harass the enemy from that side.

April 16-19.—Every night we were disturbed by the enemy, once outside Tranquéra and the road to Gerestein, once in Boenga Raja and the battery at the foot of Boekit Tjina, and in the Bandailhera, but they were always driven back without the loss of a single man. Also there were daily skirmishes between our men and the enemy.

April 21.—This morning a company of our men under command of a captain, an ensign, and three subordinate officers, with fifty Malay soldiers, marched from Boenga Raja to Pringgi where they came into conflict with a company of the enemy, put them to flight, and got possession of one of their killed, whose head they cut off and stuck on a pole at Pangkalanrama.

April 22.—The bark *Gertruida Susanna* and the hooker *Handelaar* sailed to Tandjong Kling to look for some Selangoer vessels which were reported to be at anchor on the north side of the point.

April 24.—A patrol of forty Malays left the batteries in the Bandailhera, and went towards Oedjong Pasir, where they fought with a band of the enemy. On our side one man was killed and one wounded.

April 25.—Under command of Lieut. Henry van Nijvenheim a detachment consisting of 3 officers, 4 sergeants, 6 corporals, 1 drummer, 170 Malay soldiers, 1 ex-Malay soldier, 3 kanonniers, and 18 native and Chinese musketeers, with two 3-pounder guns complete, was sent to Oedjong Pasir in order to attack and if possible take possession of the strong fortifications which the enemy had made there, but they met with so bold and determined a resistance that in the afternoon a Council of War ordered retreat to be sounded. On our side five men were killed and six wounded, and though the loss of the enemy could not be ascertained it was believed from the circumstances to have been considerable.

April 26, 27, 28.—Every night the enemy attacked our outer batteries in the Bandailhera, but each time were forced by our firing to retreat.

May 2.—In the evening at past 9 o'clock the enemy attacked simultaneously our batteries in the Boenga Raja and the Bandailhera, besides the one under Boekit Tjina. On account of this an alarm was sounded in the town and every one was under arms. The cannonade and musketry lasted at intervals until half-past eleven when the enemy retired and everything became quiet, except that now and then the whole night through there were occasional shots. These were fired at small parties of the enemy, who were seen now on one side, then on another, creeping along the ground and coming close under our fortification, evidently with the intention of setting it on fire and creating a confusion, when a fresh attack might be made from outside.

May 5.—A sampan arrived from Siak, manned by five persons, and having on board Abdul Baheer, Envoy of the old King of Siak, Radja Mohamad Ali. He brought a letter from this Prince to the Hon'ble Heer Pieter Gerardus de Bruijn, Governor and Director of this town and fortress. Also arrived *viâ* Siak from Trengano the Malay, Abdul Moehit, who had been sent there on commission in 1783, bringing a letter from the King of Trengano to the Governor.

May 6.—The Ambassador from Radja Mohamad Ali, who arrived yesterday, was sent back with a letter from the Governor to the Prince.

The cutter *Ondernemer* and the bark *Gertruida Susanna* sailed to Telok Katapan, and with the *Patriot*, which was there already, bombarded the enemy's vessels lying in the bay.

May 7.—The ships continued a cannonade at intervals at Telok Katapan until sundown.

May 8.—Under command of Lieuts. Duvergé and Kiliaan there were sent to Oedjong Pasir a sergeant, a corporal, a drummer and twelve European soldiers, together with two officers, ten subordinate officers, and seventy-eight native soldiers, a gunner, kanonnier and twelve musketeers, and the necessary coolies with one six-pounder gun and one three-pounder. Their object was to alarm the enemy and keep them occupied, so as to prevent them from attacking our men who were cutting the jungle round and making a new stockade nearer to the enemy than those already existing.

This was done with so much success that the labourers finished their work without being disturbed, and the following night a party was stationed in the new stockade. Besides this the enemy's works were much damaged and several breaches made in them, but on our side only two musketeers were wounded. In the night between eleven and twelve o'clock the enemy attacked the newly erected and still unfinished stockade at Oedjong Pasir, but met with so determined a resistance from our men posted inside that they had to retire.

May 9.—At 3 a.m. they renewed the attack, but could not succeed in taking it, and for the second time were obliged to return to their own fortifications, where a party had been working the whole night to repair yesterday's damage.

May 11.—The man-of-war *Hof ter Linden* left for Telok Katapan in order, with the ships already there, to blockade the place and to prevent the escape of Radja Hadji's ships as well as to keep out hostile reinforcements.

May 14.—The old King of Siak, Radja Mohamad Ali, arrived with a pandjadjap and two kakaps manned with a crew of 78 men from the Straits of Moerong, and in the afternoon the Fiscal, E. François Thierens, the Licent Meester, Mr. E. Hoijnck van Papendrecht, and the first sworn clerk of the Police, Baumgarten, went on board his ship to welcome him. They accompanied him to land and as far as the Government House, and after his Highness had remained with the Honourable the Governor for about half-an-hour he was conducted to the house of the widow Verbrugge, which had been prepared for him, outside the Tranquéra gate. On landing, a salute of nine guns was fired from the castle walls; and from the great gate up to the steps of Government

House, where the Governor himself received him, the road was lined by a double row of soldiers who presented arms as he passed.

May 16.—In the evening, at about 9.30 o'clock, the enemy first attacked St. John's Hill and the outer batteries in the Bandailhera, and soon after the stockade at the foot of Boekit Tjina and our fortification on this hill, stretching towards Boenga Raja and Pangkalanrama; the fierceness of their attack made every one believe that they meant to venture on a general storm, for in spite of the shot and grape poured on them from our side they still held their ground and kept up a continual fire with their blunderbusses and rantakas till about eleven o'clock, when they again withdrew. In the quarter held by the Selangoerese and their party an attack was made on our batteries outside the Tranquéra, gate but with no better success; for our men there also made a good resistance, and after firing on either side had lasted till about twelve o'clock, the enemy had to retreat to their defences.

May 18.—At ten o'clock at night, the enemy again attacked St. John's Hill, and the outer batteries in the Bandailhera, besides those at Boekit Tjina, and as it was noticed from the hill that a strong force was marching towards Boenga Raja, the alarm was sounded in the town, and everyone was under arms till about twelve o'clock, but nothing more was heard of the enemy.

May 23.—At nine o'clock at night the enemy renewed the frequent but unsuccessful attack on our batteries in the Bandailhera and at the foot of Boekit Tjina, and firing on both sides lasted till about ten o'clock, when they suddenly and hastily withdrew, and from the lamentation which was heard from St. John's Hill it was supposed that they had suffered some extraordinary loss.

May 29.—In the morning at sunrise six ships and six smaller vessels were observed from St. Paul's Hill, one of which was far ahead. This vessel came to anchor in the roads at eight o'clock, and about nine the Commanding Lieutenant landed and reported to the Hon'ble Heer Pieter Gerardus de Bruijn, Governor and Director of this town and fortress, that the name of his vessel was the cutter *Batavier*, that it belonged to the fleet now in sight, which was under command of the Hon'ble Heer Jacob Pieter van Braam, Admiral-in-Chief of the East India squadron, which, consisted of the warships *Utrecht*, *Goes*, *Wassenaar*, *Monikkendam*, and

*Juno* and the Company's ship *Hinloopen*, the lighters *Haas* and *Vos*, and the sloop *Volle Maan*. The *Ondernemer*, which had been despatched from here to the south on the 22nd instant, was also with them.

JUNE 1.—The *Utrecht*, *Goes*, *Wassenaar*, *Monikkendam*, and *Juno*, with the cutter *Batavier*, and the lighters *Haas* and *Vos*, sailed to Telok Katapan at daybreak.

JUNE 5.—Early in the morning the fleet at Telok Katapan began to bombard the enemy's ships lying near the shore, and their fortifications, and continued this until midday. Also a detachment was sent from this to Oedjong Pasir and Semabok under command of four European Officers, consisting of two Non-commissioned Officers, a drummer and twenty-four European soldiers; together with four Officers, sixteen subordinate Officers, and five hundred Malay soldiers, and one extra vuurwerker, three bombardiers, three kanonniers, and forty musketeers, with one 24-pounder cannon, two six-pounders, one twelve-pounder, two three-pounders, a howitzer and a katskop each of 4-inch. This detachment having approached sufficiently close to the enemy's batteries began the attack at the same time both on the road to Semabok and at Oedjong Pasir; the enemy, however, offered everywhere a skilful resistance, and the fight became general, and lasted until four o'clock in the afternoon, when our side had to cease and turn back, on account of the fatigue of the men. Besides, the evening was approaching, and the marshy ground prevented our men from getting close enough to the enemy's stockade to be able to storm it.

Several shells and grenades were thrown inside and exploded, and twice it was observed that a blaze sprung up, which, however, was soon extinguished. The loss on the enemy's side could not be ascertained; ours was four killed and thirteen wounded

JUNE 6.—Under command of a European Officer a detachment of three hundred and five Malay soldiers was again sent to Oedjong Pasir, with three bombardiers, two kanonniers, and fourteen musketeers, and two cannon of 6 lb. and 8 lb. and a 4-inch katskop: but the marshy ground again prevented them from getting near enough the enemy's intrenchments to fire with good effect, so after annoying them a short time they retired.

JUNE 8.—In the Company's armed ship *Diamant* were despatched to Telok Katapan to be employed in the expedition there, two

European officers, two Malay captains, seven upper and twenty-four under officers and two hundred and thirty-three soldiers.

JUNE 11.—The hooker *Handelaar* and the galwet *Concordia* were placed at the mouth of the river Doejong to prevent the enemy's vessels from getting out.

JUNE 12-15.—The fleet lying before Telok Katapan occasionally fired at the enemy's vessels anchored near the shore and at the fortifications, and on their side small parties attacked our outer intrenchments almost every night; but nothing else noteworthy occurred.

JUNE 16.—There were sent to Boekit Tampoerong, under command of Lieuts. Claas and Kiliaan, two non-commissioned officers, a drummer, and twelve European soldiers; also a captain, two upper and two under officers, and two hundred and eleven Malay soldiers together with an extra vuurwerker, two bombardiers, a kanonnier, and sixteen musketeers, with two six-pounder cannons and one 4-inch howitzer. This detachment having taken up a position on the hill continued firing at short intervals on the enemy's fortifications on the side of the Semabok road, and now and then threw a shell of which a few exploded inside, but others did not, apparently because they were extinguished in the muddy ground, or in consequence of the heavy rain which fell for some time.

Afterwards there came in sight of the fortress the man-of-war *Princess Louisa,* commanded by the Hon'ble Capt. Frederik Rudolph Carel, Count of Rechteren, and also the bark *Arend,* but, being signalled by the flag-ship *Utrecht,* they steered for Telok Katapan Bay to join the fleet there.

JUNE 17.—In the morning the same force which kept Boekit Tampoerong alarmed yesterday again marched out there with an extra vuurwerker, three bombardiers, three kanonniers, and sixteen musketeers, with two six-pounder cannons and one three-pounder, and a 7-inch mortar. They fired thence an occasional shell inside the enemy's stockade, with such effect that many of their posts were seen to fall and some caught fire from the bursting of a bomb. This firing and bombardment continued till about 6 o'clock, when our men retired.

The ships at Telok Katapan also fired occasionally at the enemy's ships and batteries there.

JUNE 18.—The troops which had been out on the 16th and 17th returned again to Boekit Tampoerong, with a 12-pounder and two 3-pounder guns, and a 4-inch howitzer, and kept the enemy disturbed by a continual cannonading and bombardment, while at daybreak the fleet before Telok Katapan fired heavily with their big guns on the enemy's fleet and batteries. At about 8 o'clock it was seen from St. Paul's Hill that the ships with the landing party moved into Telok Katapan Bay, and soon after the heavy firing from the ships ceased. Then for more than half an hour was heard continual volleys of musketry, an unbroken running fire, and a little after 9 o'clock one could see over the point, on this side of Telok Katapan or Tandjong Pallas, a thick smoke rising, which lasted off and on the whole day. Meanwhile, about 10 A.M., the flag-ship signalled that the landing had been successful, and was answered by a countersignal from this fortress.

The troops which moved out from here in the morning towards midday became aware that the enemy were leaving their stockade to the east of this fortress in the greatest haste and confusion. They did not, however, at once take possession of it, but followed the fugitives almost to Telok Katapan, without loss either in killed or wounded. Two out of the three officers who were with them—viz., Lieuts. Ziegelitz and Kiliaan—each obtained one of the enemy's colours. There were also taken twenty-four ships, large and small, and the following guns :—

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | iron cannon of | 6 | lb. | 4 | dubbel-haken | | |
| 3 | „ „ „ | 4 | „ | 24 | pieces round shot of | 30 | lb. |
| 3 | „ „ „ | 3 | „ | 19 | „ „ „ „ | 24 | „ |
| 1 | „ „ „ | 1 | „ | 163 | „ „ „ „ | 12 | „ |
| 1 | „ swivel gun | 0½ | „ | 73 | „ „ „ „ | 6 | „ |
| 1 | brass cannon | 2 | „ | 104 | „ „ „ „ | 3 | „ |
| 4 | brass swivel guns | 0½ | „ | 105 | „ „ „ „ | 2 | „ |
| 29 | rantakas of all kinds | | | 79 | „ „ „ „ | 1 | „ |
| 1 | iron rantaka | | | 55 | „ „ „ „ | 0½ | „ |

181 pieces round shot of all sorts, tin and iron, with two barrels and one tub of native gunpowder.

Thus, through the merciful direction of God, we were entirely freed on this side of the town and fortress from the enemy who had planned our downfall. Towards evening a report spread that Radja Hadji was killed, and that this was the reason of the hasty flight from Semabok, Doejong and elsewhere.

JUNE 19.—In the morning at 4 o'clock, by order of the Hon'ble Heer Pieter Gerardus de Bruijn, Governor and Director of this town and fortress, the Fiscal, E. François Thierens, Sabandar Hoijnck van Papendrecht, and Secretary Baumgarten went to Telok Katapan in order to congratulate the Hon'ble Heer Jacob Pieter van Braam, Admiral of the East India Squadron, on his victory of yesterday, and at sunrise a salute of 21 guns was fired from the castle walls in honour of the joyful event.

A detachment of one European officer and two non-commissioned officers, a drummer, and twenty-six soldiers, with two Malay upper and two under officers and forty-nine soldiers, were sent out to protect the coolies who were employed to bring in spoil, and to destroy the enemy's fortifications to the east of this fortress and on the road to Telok Katapan. Another detachment, under command of Lieut. Nicholaas Christian Vetter, marched from Boenga Raja to Pringgi, to turn the enemy out from there, but they found the works already abandoned; so, after knocking them down and setting fire to them, they returned.

Some of the Malacca soldiers who followed the enemy to Telok Katapan yesterday, reported on their return, to-day, that they had found on the battlefield a wounded Bugis, and on asking him where Radja Hadji had gone, he told them that not only had he heard that Radja Hadji was killed, but also, immediately after the attack on the biggest stockade, he had seen a body carried away by two men in a kind of hang mat, and supposed it to be that of Radja Hadji, because it was followed by some well-dressed women.

At night about 11 o'clock the Selangoerese attacked our fortifications on the Tranquéra road and those near Gerestein, but they were speedily forced by our guns to retire.

June 20.—A force was sent to Oedjong Pasir and to Telok Katapan, for the same purpose and in the same way as on the 19th.

June 21.—This detachment, returning to-day, brought back with them a Bugis of the name of Akier, whom they had found in the jungle. This man, on being questioned, said that he had been in Radja Hadji's stockade when it was stormed by the Europeans, and that Radja Hadji was killed by a shot through the breast; that his body was afterwards carried away in a hang mat on a pole by the Panghoeloe of Padang and a slave, and followed by some women; that he had joined the party and seen that they laid the body in a small thicket which he could show them, and afterwards had fled, surely for fear of being overtaken by the Europeans, who meanwhile had taken possession of everything.

The ship *Hoop,* the hooker *Handelaar,* and the galwet *Concordia* left for Tandjong Kling where the *Gertruida Susanna* had been lying so long to prevent the escape of the Selangoer vessels from Batang Tiga Bay.

June 22.—The Bugis Akier, who was found in the jungle and brought up here yesterday, with the Malay, Intjeh Mangsoer, and a few men to protect them, were sent to Telok Katapan, the former to point out the body of Radja Hadji, and the latter, who knew the Prince well, to identify it.

Intjeh Mangsoer, on returning in the afternoon, declared that when he came to Telok Katapan with the prisoner Akier, the latter had shewn him between that place and Tandjong Pallas an unburied dead body, which he recognised unmistakably as that of Radja Hadji, not only by the figure and the short teeth, in which he differed from other Bugis, but also by the scar of a wound on his thigh, which he had got at Linggi in a previous war against the Company.

June 23.—Three European officers, and four non-commissioned officers, two drummers and forty-eight soldiers, with four Malay upper and fourteen under officers and one hundred and ninety-six soldiers, were sent from the outskirts of Tranquéra to Tandjong Kling, in order to turn out the enemy also from this side of the town, but on coming up to the enemy's stockades they found them deserted, so after destroying them they set them on fire.

The Malays Madjid and Amien were sent to Telok Katapan this morning for a further examination of the body of Radja Hadji at Tandjong Pallas, and on their return they declared that having inspected it carefully, and noticed the scar mentioned by the Malay Mangsoer, and the bare shaven head, and also a black circular mark, pointed out by Amien, who knew that Radja Hadji bore such a mark, they recognised the body as that of Radja Hadji, and were convinced that it could be none other than that of the Prince. In the evening there returned from Telok Katapan the men-of-war *Utrecht, Goes, Wassenaar, Princess Louisa, Monnikendam* and *Juno,* and the Company's armed vessels *Hof ter Linden* and *Diamant,* together with the smaller boats which had been there.

June 24.—This morning the Governor sent the chief of the Achinese, Posaijan, with some Malays to Telok Katapan, with an escort of twenty-four native soldiers, in order to put the body of Radja Hadji into a coffin and bring it in. They arrived late in the evening in the Bandailhera, and remained in the outer battery till the next morning, when they brought the body inside the fort, where it was buried at the foot of St. Paul's Hill, behind the artillery store. The Achinese chief, Posaijan, assured the Governor that he recognised the body as that of Radja Hadji whom he had known during his long residence in Riouw.

June 25.—In the morning at 2 o'clock we were awakened by a loud report, and afterwards learnt with great sorrow that the Company's armed ship *Dolphijn*, which was lying in the roads, had blown up with all her crew on board, and only one body was found—viz., that of the piper Rijk Adelaar. A Chinaman and four Javanese escaped, but they could give no account of how the disaster happened for they were asleep, and were awakened by the shock. So of this dreadful occurrence nothing farther is known than what is told in the journal of the nearest ship, the *Hinloopen*, which puts the list of killed at a total of two hundred and three persons.

July 13.—There sailed for Selangoer the ships *Utrecht*, *Goes*, the *Princess Louisa* and *Wassenaar*, besides the barks *Constantia* and *Gertruida Susanna*, the pantjalangs *Rustenberg* and *Geduld*, the galwet *Concordia*, the sloop *Volle Maan*,* and the lighters *Haas* and *Vos*,† with some armed native boats belonging to the old King of Siak, Radja Mohamad Ali.

There also departed for Selangoer, distributed among these ships, one lieutenant, one ensign, one corporal, one drummer and twelve European soldiers, together with two hundred and forty Malay soldiers under command of their officers, thirty-one in all.

July 22.—There were sent besides to Riouw, the men-of-war the *Hof ter Linden* and *Diamant*, with a further reinforcement of two ensigns, four non-commissioned officers, and eighteen Malay soldiers.

Aug. 1.‡—Arrived from Selangoer the Company's pantjalang *Geduld* with a letter from the Hon'ble Admiral van Braam to the Hon'ble Heer Pieter Gerardus de Bruijn, Governor and Director of this town and fortress, communicating the news of the defeat of Radja Brahima, King of Selangoer, and his followers, and of the conquest of that kingdom on the 2nd instant by the victorious arms of the Company's fleet under the skilful and prudent direction of the said Heer van Braam; which joyful event was made known to the community by a salute of 21 guns from the castle walls.

Aug. 21.—A communication was received from Selangoer by the bark *Constantia*, from the newly proclaimed king of that country,

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* Full Moon. † Hare and Fox.

‡ This date is evidently wrong, as the victory of the 2nd is announced.

Radja Mohamad Ali, besides one from the commandant there, Lieut. Gerardus Smits, dated 9th and 13th instant, and addressed to the Hon'ble Heer Pieter Gerardus de Bruijn, Governor, etc.

Aug. 30.—The men-of-war *Utrecht* and *Wassenaar* arrived from Selangoer bringing a letter from the old Prince of Siak, Radja Mohamad Ali, now proclaimed King of Selangoer.

Sept. 2.—Hadji Mahmat, Envoy of Radja Ali, calling himself Regent of Djohor and Pahang, arrived from Riouw in a kakap, armed with two small cannon, with a crew of fifteen men, bringing a letter from that Prince to the Governor and Council, dated August 19th.

Sept. 4.—The Company's pantjalangs *Bliton* and *Banka* were despatched to Riouw, with a letter from the Governor and Council to Captains Christian Frederik Winterheim and Jacob Frederiks, commanding the men-of-war *Hof ter Linden* and *Diamant,* there at anchor, dated this day.

Sept. 15.—The Company's bark *Constantia* and pantjalang *Geduld* left for Riouw with a communication from the Governor and Council to Captain Jacob Frederiks, commanding the Company's men-of-war and smaller ships in the roads there.

Sept. 19.—The *Concordia, Patriot, Batavier* and *Ondernemer,* with the *Haas,* returned from Selangoer, and in the first-named vessel arrived the King of Selangoer, formerly Prince of Siak, Radja Mohamad Ali, who was escorted to land by two lieutenants of the *Utrecht.*

Oct. 7.—The *Batavier, Patriot, Concordia,* with the lighters *Haas* and *Vos,* were sent to Riouw, the first named bearing a letter from the Governor and Council to Captain Jacob Frederiks, commanding the Company's ships in the roads of Riouw.

Oct. 10.—The men-of-war *Utrecht, Goes,* the *Wassenaar, Princess Louisa, Monnikendam* and *Juno,* with the *Hinloopen,* left for Riouw under command of Admiral van Braam, and were saluted with 15 guns from the castle walls, and a return salute of the same number was fired from the *Utrecht.*

Oct. 17.—The Company's pantjalang *Banka* arrived from Riouw bringing a letter from Captain Jacob Frederiks dated 6th inst., with the annexed papers according to the accompanying Register, and one from Lieut. Johannes de Frein, commanding the *Hof ter Linden,* dated 5th inst., both addressed to the Governor and

Council. By the same ship arrived Captain Christian Frederik Winterheim.

Oct. 20.—The Company's ship *Mars* arrived from Batavia with the Hon'ble Naval Captains Egidius van Braam and J. C. Verheul.

Nov. 2.—The ship *Mars* was sent to Riouw to convey provisions and stores to the Batavia fleet and to the Company's ships *Patriot* and *Concordia.* By her also left Captains Egidius van Braam and J. C. Verheul, who had arrived on October 20th.

Nov. 11.—A fishing boat sent out to the *Ondernemer,* which since yesterday had been in sight, brought back a letter from Lieutenant Hass with the pleasant news that Riouw had been taken by the Company.

Nov. 12.—The *Ondernemer* came in, with a despatch from Admiral van Braam to the Governor Pieter Gerardus de Bruijn, communicating the news of a severe battle on the 29th October, in which the Netherlands arms, under the skilful and prudent direction of the said Hon'ble Heer van Braam, had been a glorious victory; and that in the night of the 30th-31st, the Bugis with Radja Ali at their head had taken flight, and afterwards the legitimate successor of the Djohor house, Radja Machmoed, with the Chinese and Malays resident in Riouw, had capitulated. This joyful event was made generally known by a salute of 21 guns.

Nov. 15.—The *Mars,* which had left on the 2nd, returned from Riouw.

Dec. 10.—The Company's bark *Constantia,* the *Ondernemer* and the lighters *Haas* and *Vos* arrived from Riouw, bringing a letter from the Commandant there, Jacob Christian Vetter, and one from the King of Djohor and Pahang, both directed to the Governor and Council, and dated, respectively, November 30th and 1st instant.

Dec. 23.—The Company's pantjalang *Bliton* left for Riouw, and by her was sent a letter dated yesterday from the Hon'ble Heer Pieter Gerardus de Bruijn, Governor and Director of this town and fortress, and the Council, to Lieutenant Jacob Christian Vetter, Commandant, and to Secretary Abraham Maurits Fabricius, second in the Company's garrison at Riouw, and sent over by this vessel.

Dec. 28.—The armed ships *Diamant* and the *Hof ter Linden* were sent to Batavia.

The invasion of an European settlement by a Malay force and an attack upon a fortified town, in which there were some, if only a few, disciplined troops, seem to us, fortunately, at this period, to be events which are beyond the bounds of possibility. It is noteworthy, however, that the invaders found supporters among the Malacca Malays. The villagers of Duyong (see verse eighteen of the ballad and the entry under February 15th in the Dutch record) joined Raja Haji, and a first success on the part of a Muhammadan enemy might at any time influence the loyalty of a Malay peasantry.

The arrest of De Wind mentioned by Begbie is not alluded to in the Dutch official diary, and whereas from Begbie's account one would gather that Captain Abo's ship was blown up before the relief of the town by the arrival of Admiral van Braam's fleet, it is clear from the diary that the loss of the *Dolphijn* did not occur until Raja Haji had been defeated, killed and buried, and not until nearly a month after the arrival of the fleet from Riouw.

*À propos* of the arrival of Raja Mohamed Ali, of Siak, the Malay author says *Malayu pandei mem-buat tipu,* "The Malay is skilled in fraud," and it is clear that the Dutch felt very uncertain of the value of his professions of friendship and supposed that he would, if admitted within the fort, intrigue with the enemy outside. He was therefore lodged in the Tranquéra suburb, with "the widow Verbrugge"—the widow, perhaps, of Mr. Ary Verbrugge, whose name appears as an envoy to Perak in the native chronicles of that State (see *Journal Str. Br. R.A.S., Notes and Queries,* p. 31). Begbie says, "Tuankoo Mahomed Alli came over from Siak during these commotions ostensibly to assist the Dutch, by whom he was kindly received and allotted a residence in Tranqueirah, it not being deemed prudent to admit him within the walls of the fort."

Raja Mohamed Ali's retention of the position given to him by the Dutch (see entry in the official record under 21st August), as King of Selangor was a very brief one. Raja Ibrahim re-took his fort and kingdom in 1785 and the Siak adventurer returned to Sumatra and is not recognised by the Malays as ever having really been Raja of Selangor.

The Malay ballad concludes with a reference to the arrival of the widow of Raja Haji from Riouw to beg for the corpse of her husband. This was apparently refused and a guard placed over the grave to prevent the abstraction of the body. Regarding this the Dutch record is silent. It was not until a few years ago, when the new High School was being built, that the bones of the deceased warrior were disinterred and taken to Riouw where they now lie. With their removal the Malacca Malays lost a place of pious visitation and payment of vows *(bayar niat)*.

This paper would not be complete without a translation of the Malay prose account of Raja Haji's war with the Dutch, which is to be found in a MS. chronicle of the Malayo-Bugis Rajas of the Straits of Malacca, written by Raja Ali, of Riouw, in A. H. 1288, and called by the author " Tuhfat-el-nafis." It is always interesting to note the point of view from which the native historian regards events. The version which the Malays possess as history is as follows :—

" Sultan Mahmud was reigning in Riau * and Raja Haji had not long been Yang-di-per-Tuan Muda when the Yang-di-per-Tuan of Selangor, Sultan Saleh-ed-din fell ill and soon afterwards died. "

" Information of this event was duly forwarded by his chiefs to Riau and Raja Haji appointed his successor. Raja Ibrahim, son of the deceased Sultan, became Yang-di-per-Tuan Besar and Raja Nala was made Yang-di-per-Tuan Muda."

" Raja Haji had governed Riau and its dependencies as Yang-di-per-Tuan Muda for about eight years when there befell an ordinance of God, who is all-powerful and who causes His will to operate upon all His servants according to His plans and makes them know how despicable is this transitory life with its passing pleasures, so that they may not love this world but set their affections on a hereafter which shall be enduring and the pleasures and kingdom of which shall be exceeding great, as God says in the Koran : ' When ye shall see it—that is, the life hereafter—ye shall see delights and a kingdom that are exceeding great.' In several succeeding verses are described the insignificance of this world and the pleasures of the life to come."

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* *Riau* is the transliteration of ريو , the town which the Dutch call "Riouw" and the English "Rhio." This is probably connected in derivation with ريوه *riyuh* or *riauh*, noise, noisy, loud sounds (of joy or distress), but in Von De Wall's Malay Dictionary the words are given as quite distinct ريو *rijau, naam der bekende hoofdplaats*, and ريه *rijauh, luidruchtig ; woelig.*

"The beginning of the events which led to Riau being embroiled in war, and eventually being captured, is ascribed to two different causes. The first account, which I have obtained from the local histories of Siak and Selangor, corroborated by the statements of old men who were alive at the time of the events about to be described and took part in them, is as follows:—Raja Haji, the Yang-di-per-Tuan Muda of Riau, made a convention with the Dutch East India Company by which it was agreed that the enemies of the Company should be the enemies of Raja Haji also, and that all prizes and booty should be divided equally between the allies, if Raja Haji took part in the operations. Subsequently there came to Riau a vessel, belonging to enemies of the Dutch, and she anchored at Pulau Bayan. Thereupon Raja Haji caused information to be given to the Governor of Malacca, and there came a Dutch ship from Malacca which attacked the one anchored at Pulau Bayan and the latter was captured and taken away to Malacca with all her cargo. There she was adjudged to be a prize according to the custom of war. Nevertheless, Raja Haji did not get any share. He started for Malacca to enquire as to this and got as far as Muar, where he was met by a Dutch official sent by the Governor of Malacca to discuss the matter with him. The name of this gentleman, as given in the chronicle of Selangor, was Señor Bram, but some people say that his real name was Abraham Vergil.* The Capitan Malayu of Malacca accompanied him. Raja Haji represented to the two agents of the Governor of Malacca that the prize had been taken in consequence of information given by him, and further that she had been taken in the harbour of Riau, in his territory, and demanded his share. The agents of the Governor of Malacca refused to entertain his complaint and hençe arose misunderstandings and dissatisfaction which culminated in war. This is one account of the origin of the war, as set out in the chronicle of Selangor and as given by old men who have related what they knew."

"But there is another account which I have found in the chronicles of Lingga and Riau, compiled by Ungku Busu, the father of Ungku Awak of Dungun. According to this, Raja Kechil, Tûn Dalam, the Yang-di-per-Tuan of Trenggánu, took counsel with Captain Klasi † how to bring about the destruction of Riau. Now the Yang-di-per-Tuan of Trenggánu had a Chinese girl whom he had just caused to become a Muhammadan, giving her the name of Si Jamilah. Captain Klasi asked for her and Raja Kechil, Tûn Dalam, gave her to him, asking him in return to do something to bring about a fight at Kwala Riau, so as to set the people of Riau against the Dutch Company. Captain Klasi cohabited with Jamilah who became *enceinte*, and when he left for Riau to provoke the promised disturbance with the French* at Kwala Riau he left Jamilah under the charge of his brother, Captain Gadis, and directed him to convey her to China. While Captain Klasi was away at Riau Captain Gadis sailed for China, but by the decree of God most high, when he was off Tanjong Lalabi on the coast of Trenggánu a tremendous gale came on and his ship was wrecked and all the Hollanders on board were drowned, not one being saved, and Si Jamilah perished with the rest. Besides this ship, about one hundred and ten prahus were lost in this storm, including a number of prahus from Sambas of various sizes and the boat (*sulub*, Dutch *sloep*) of the Yang-di-per-Tuan, Raja Kechil, Tûn Dalam, himself. This, it is said, is the story of the secret cause of the troubles."

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* *Vergil* is evidently an attempt at *Velge,* the name of a well-known Malacca family. But the emissary was not called Abraham Velge, but Abraham de Wind. See Begbie's narrative above.

† Captain Glass, an Englishman, is mentioned in connection with Trenggánu by Begbie, *The Malayan Peninsula,* p. 88.

"To return to our history, when the Governor of Malacca refused to entertain the claims of Raja Haji the latter sent back his convention with the Dutch Company, saying that one side observed it and the other side did not, and having done this he returned to Riau. The Governor of Malacca was angry at the return of the documents and he took counsel with the Admiral (*Raja Laut*), named Pieter Jacob van Braam. Another version, however, gives the name of the Dutch Naval Commander as Tuan Abo. During the consultations, calumnies and injurious reports of all kinds were carried to the Governor of Malacca and to the Admiral to the effect that the Yang-di-per-Tuan Muda of Riau, Raja Haji, was about to attack Malacca and had fitted out an expedition for this purpose. Then said the Governor of Malacca to Admiral van Braam, 'Raja Haji is going to attack Malacca—let us go and attack him first.' So a Dutch expedition set forth with ever so many ships of war and armed ketches *(kichi prang)* to invade Riau and blockade the port, hindering the entry of trading-boats. Raja Haji was furious at this, and he issued forth with a number of boats and there was a great fight. *Lagum! lagam!* terrific was the noise of the cannon, just like a thunderbolt cleaving the mountains, and the smoke from the muskets obscured Kwala Riau like a mist, and loud were the shouts of the combatants, and the war-cries of the Bugis *(kilong musong).*"

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* It was a French ship that took the English merchantman, according to Begbie. The story of the connivance of the master of the latter is, of course, absurd. The surname *Geddes* would correspond with what is written in Malay *Gadis*. The Malay author would not understand that Geddes could not be the brother of Glass. If the ship that went down off Trenggánu was an English vessel, as seems probable, the author makes a mistake in describing her crew as "Hollanders."

"This went on till the evening when both sides ceased fighting, and at nightfall the ships stood out to sea and half of the *penjajaps* re-entered the Riau river. Next day the fight was resumed with a tremendous cannonade from guns and *lelas* and *rantakas* on both sides and at night they again stopped. This went on daily for ever so many months without either side giving in and rice and all kinds of provisions were dear, for trading-boats could only enter with difficulty, being intercepted by the ships of war, sometimes they got through and sometimes they did not."

"Raja Haji caused stockades to be erected at Tanjong Pinang and Telok Kreting and Pulau Peningat and manned each with a sufficient force of defenders. The stockade at Peningat was manned by Siantan men and the large *penjajaps* which carried cannon were ranged along the coast; of these there were about one hundred and fifty large and small down as far as Tanjong Uban, and some were stationed behind Riau to help to bring in the trading craft from Siam and Cochin China and other places bringing rice and other provisions."

"So the fighting went on day after day in the harbour of Riau. Raja Haji himself directed the operations in person and he used to paddle about in a long canoe *(sampan bidor yang panjang).*"

"He used to paddle about from one *penjajap* to another enquiring if the equipment was deficient in any way, and he used to do this in the thick of the fighting when bullets were flying from both directions. The following story I have from an old man of Bugis extraction named Inche Sumpo' who was a youth just old enough to wear a *kris* at the time of these events:—He remembered being with a number of other youths of good family, of about the same age as himself, in a boat in which they were conveying Raja Haji during a fight. They were paddling across from one *penjajap* to another when a shot was fired from a war-ship painted black and the ball struck the water, close to the boat and ricocheted to one side. The splash wetted the cloth which the Yang-di-per-Tuan

Muda was wearing, but he did not take any notice and merely told the boys to paddle on, and if any of them ducked their heads when bullets flew by he struck them with a rattan whip which he carried."

"One day a long ketch belonging to the Dutch approached the shore at Pulau Alus and was becalmed there. Six or seven *penjajaps* immediately came out and attacked her, and then there was *lagum! lagam!* a tremendous cannonade—and that ketch very nearly had to yield, and we very nearly got her. The Commander of the party who attacked her was a Panglima, named Inche Kubu, who had a *ghurab* fifteen fathoms long. During the fight the poop *(baranda)* of the Dutch vessel caught fire and a number of her crew had got into their boats and were ready to pull out to sea, but a strong wind got up and several vessels were able to sail up to her assistance, so the *penjajaps* had to sheer off and the ketch got away. Then night came on and fighting ceased, only to begin again next day, and so it went on day after day; if there was plenty of wind the ships stood in, and if it was calm the *penjajaps* went out and gave battle and at night all fighting stopped. The vessels of both sides were so close sometimes that conversation took place between those on board; for among the crews of the Dutch ships there were here and there a few men of Bugis descent, born in Malacca and related *(ber-kerabat)* to the Bugis of Riau. The former would perhaps call out 'What is one to do? One takes employment where there is food to be got; but that need not interfere with our relationship.' Or a Dutch sailor would sing out 'Hi! you Malay (or Bugis), to-morrow we 'll have a good fight, eh?' And the Malay or Bugis would answer back 'All right.' This is what I myself have heard from the lips of old men."

"One day the Dutch attacked the stockades of the Siantan men on Pulau Peningat, having landed a force of soldiers by means of boats at the back of the island. They fell upon the Siantan men unawares during a heavy shower of rain and took all the stockades, the defenders scattering and taking to the jungle. Then the Dutch landed a quantity of dogs and hunted down all those who had escaped and were hiding in the woods. When the dogs found one they barked, and then the soldiers came up and shot him, and the musketry fire was like the popping of the rice-grains when *bertih* is being roasted. Thus, all the Siantan men on Pulau Peningat were killed, not one was left, for there was no time to run away."

"Attracted by the crackling *(meng-kĕrútup)* of the musketry fire at Pulau Peningat, the *penjajaps* at Kwala Riau made for that place and arrived there just as the troops had re-embarked to return to their ships. A fight then took place between the *penjajaps* and the boats and there was a great deal of firing with muskets and blunderbusses, during which three of the boats were sunk and a number of men were killed, but the rest of them got away. Then the ships and ketches sailed up and opened fire upon the *penjajaps*, to which the latter responded. The fight ended without a victory for either side, and at nightfall the ships stood out to sea again and the Malays and Bugis landed at Pulau Peningat to search for the bodies of the Siantan men. Those that were found were buried hurriedly, two or three together in one grave, and when this was done the *penjajaps* left again and fighting recommenced next day."

"After the war had gone on for nine months (some people say *eleven* months, God knoweth the truth) there was a parley between the combatants—that is to say, between the Yang-di-per-Tuan Muda, Raja Haji, on one side and Pieter Jacob van Braam (or, as some say, Captain Abo) on the other, and there was a truce in order to allow of negotiations. The Dutch wanted to bring one large ship of war into the Riau river, but Raja Haji objected to this, saying that if the object was a conference with a view to an understanding no ship must be brought in, to which the Dutch replied that they had no sinister intention. Raja Haji still objected, and the Dutch said that they could not be expected to come to Riau without soldiers with them during a time of war. Their war-ship persisted in trying to get in, so fighting recommenced, fire being opened on her from the stockade at Telok Kreting. Then there was a tremendous cannonade, the fire from the ship drowning every other noise. The stockade was very near falling, owing to gunpowder running short, but the Yang-di-per-Tuan Muda sent them a supply in a boat. The man who took it across was Shahbandar Bopeng and the lad who paddled him was Inche Kalik, the head of all the youths of good family at that time. The boat was fired on by the ship with ball and canister and was sunk, but her men got on shore with one barrel of powder and took it up to the stockade at Telok Kreting, which was able thus to fire four or five rounds."

"Then, by the decree of God most high, the ship took fire and, by the explosion of the gunpowder on board, she was blown into the air and fragments were sent flying over land and sea and all her crew perished. According to one account, they numbered eight hundred and, according to another account, five hundred, and there was a Kommissaris among them. I have learned from old Dutch inhabitants of Malacca that her name was *Malacca's Welvaren*.* After this occurrence there was a cessation of hostilities, during which negotiations were continued."

"Now the Yang-di-per-Tuan of Selangor, Raja Ibrahim, and his brother, Raja Nala, the Yang-di-per-Tuan Muda of the same State, when they heard that their relative, Raja Haji, was at war with the Dutch at Riau, took counsel together, with the Dato' Punggawa and the Chiefs and elders in Selangor, how they might co-operate with the Yang-di-per-Tuan Muda of Riau. When a plan of action had been decided on, the Raja of Selangor set out to invade Malacca. He halted at Rembau to consult with the Penghulu and the four Sukus, and a conference having been held there he went on to Pendas † and concerted measures with the Penghulu of Pendas and the four Sukus there. When this was over he went to Sungei Bahru and established himself there, and then marched to Batang Tiga. There he constructed a large stockade, which was soon attacked by a force sent out from Malacca, composed partly of soldiers and partly of Malacca people. A fight then took place between the Selangor men and the Malacca force and there was slaughter on both sides. A number of soldiers and Malacca people were killed, and the head of one of their leaders was cut off. The Malacca force was defeated and retreated to the town again. The Governor of Malacca then summoned all his ships of war to return to the port, and sent a letter to Pieter Jacob van Braam at Riau informing him that Malacca was invaded by the Yang-di-per-Tuan of Selangor. The Admiral at once gave orders that all his ships should sail back to Malacca, and the harbour of Riau was soon left quite clear, all the Dutch ships having gone. The Yang-di-per-Tuan Muda of Selangor, Raja Nala, then set out for Riau with a *kakap*, manned by thirty men, to invite Raja Haji to come to Malacca. There was a great difference of opinion among the young Rajas in Riau, some being in favour of his going and some being altogether against it, which ended in a serious misunderstanding between the descendants of Marhum Janggut, Raja Ali ‡ and Raja Abdul Samad.* Raja Haji himself was bent upon going: first, because the Selangor men were actually fighting; secondly, because his royal relative had personally come to ask him; and thirdly because he hoped for merit in the sight of God (فضيلة) by waging a religious war. For these three reasons he could not restrain himself. When all his preparations were ready he set out for Malacca. His nephew, the Yang-di-per-Tuan Besar, Sultan Mahmud, insisted upon accompanying his uncle as far as Muar, where he was left behind, while Raja Haji pushed on to Malacca. The latter established himself near Telok Katapang and built a stockade at Tanjong Palas, at the same time ordering Punggawa Puna Sati to attack Semábok. There was fighting at Semábok for some days between the Bugis and the Dutch, many being killed and wounded on both sides. The latter at length gave way, a number of soldiers having been killed and the Semábok people having lost several Panglimas. Not long after Semábok had been taken by Raja Haji, Sultan Mahmud came to Telok Katapang to see him, but his uncle induced him to return to Muar. 'Do not,' said he, 'take part in this campaign, but leave it to me, for it may be that God most high has predestined that my time shall end in this war, and in that case it is first to God, next to the Prophet of God, and thirdly to your Highness that I desire to commit the care and protection of my people and my Bugis dependents. And I should accept this fate with joy, for I should die in the hope that all my past sins would be forgiven by God most high, by reason of my death in battle."†

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* See the entry under date January 24, on p. 19, where the name is given. Without this clue it would not be easy to give the Dutch equivalent of مَلَاقْ سُوَارْ فَارَ The Commissary who lost his life was Mr. Lemker.

† Pendas, the place where the Linggi river divides, one branch going up to Sungei Ujong and the other to Rembau, now generally called Sempang.

‡ Raja Ali afterwards succeeded Raja Haji as Yang-di-per-Tuan Muda of Riau.

"Sultan Mahmud wept bitterly at hearing these words and his uncle wept also. The Sultan then returned to Muar to await there the issue of the operations."

"Raja Haji visited Batang Tiga, together with the Yang-di-per-Tuan of Selangor, and made a stockade there and ordered an attack on Malacca on the land side. A detachment of Malacca men and Dutch soldiers came out and when the two forces met there was a fight, with a tremendous discharge of muskets and blunderbusses, and when they got to close quarters swords and spears and *klewangs* and *krises* were used. Many were killed and wounded on both sides. Before long the Malacca force was defeated and retreated to the town. After this there was no fighting for some days, and then the Yang-di-per-Tuan of Selangor sent fifty Selangor men to Telok Katapang to fetch a large boat, which had been presented to him by the Yang-di-per-Tuan Besar, and to bring her to Batang Tiga. She was, however, attacked by the Dutch and was struck by a cannon-ball and sunk; but she was not burnt. The Selangor men returned to Batang Tiga again."

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* Raja Abdul Samad (afterwards killed in battle with the Dutch) was in favour of Raja Haji invading Malacca, Raja Ali opposed the proposal.

† "War against enemies of El-Islám, who have been the first aggressors, is enjoined as a sacred duty; and he who loses his life in fulfilling this duty, if unpaid, is promised the rewards of a martyr."—Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, I. 133.

"When Raja Haji was established at Tanjong Palas, near Telok Katapang, he ordered an attack to be made on the east side of Malacca by some hundreds of Malays and Bugis. Again the Malacca men sallied forth, with hundreds of Dutch soldiers, and when the two forces met there was a great fight.* The Punggawa led his men to the attack of a gun upon a carriage, and after a hand-to-hand fight it was captured by the Bugis and Riau men, and the Malacca people retreated to the town.† Then hostilities ceased for a month or half a month, and then there was another engagement, then another period of quiet and then another fight. As time went on the Malacca people were defeated more and more, until the whole of the territory round the town had been reduced by Raja Haji, and nothing remained to the Dutch but the town of Malacca itself with its fortress."

"It is related that the war had lasted for about a year without any decisive defeat on either side and the Governor of Malacca was becoming very anxious, because assistance was so long in coming from Batavia. He brought into the fort, with their wives and families, all the Europeans who lived outside the walls, and a very strict watch was maintained by patrol *(sambang)* day and night. The Governor also sent messengers to the neighbouring Malay States to say that if the Company were victorious a reward would be given to those Rajas from whom support was received."

"When the Governor's letter to this effect reached Siak, the Yam Tuan, Mohamed Ali, took counsel with his nephew, Saiyid Ali bin Osman, and then started for Malacca, tempted by the riches of this world, to assist the Governor. (Nevertheless, it is stated in the chronicle of Selangor that when the Dutch attacked and took Telok Katapang, Yam Tuan Mohamed Ali and Saiyid Ali were *not* present)."

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* Described in language already used; translation omitted to avoid monotony.

† The Dutch account does not admit the capture of the gun. It was "unmounted and taken back."—See p. 27.

"The Yang-di-per-Tuan of Selangor made a journey to Rembau for amusement and spent some time there. Thence he returned to Sungei Bahru with a large following of Rembau men. He then made arrangements for a serious attack upon Malacca."

"At last the reinforcements expected by the Governor from Batavia arrived, consisting of about thirty vessels, large and small, ships of war and armed ketches, with thousands of troops both white and black. As soon as they arrived, about nine large ships attacked Telok Katapang, and there was a severe engagement between the stockades and the ships, which ended at nightfall and was renewed next day for several days. Even in a time of danger like this Raja Haji amused himself every night with plays and dancers, and feasting and giving feasts to the Princes and Chiefs; but, nevertheless, his piety was no pretence and he never discontinued repeating his prayers; his beads * never left his hands, and on Thursday nights he never failed to celebrate the festival† of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad, on whom be the blessings of God and His peace, just as if his situation was that of a person free from anxiety."

"At last when his hour had come and the fulfilment of the measure and quantity of time allotted to him by God (who is ever to be praised and most high) in the furtherance of His designs, an attack was made by a body of some thousands of Dutch troops from the land side, who had got behind the small stockade. It should be explained that the large stockade,—namely, the one held by Raja Haji himself—was at Tanjong Palas, and that a smaller one further inland was commanded by Inche Ibrahim, the son of Bandahara Hassan. The Dutch made an assault upon Inche Ibrahim's stockade, and after a hand-to-hand fight the stockade was carried and Inche Ibrahim made his escape to the large stockade in which Raja Haji resided. Then Raja Haji ordered his *panglimas* to sally out and attack the Dutch. He himself did not cease reading a religious book. The *panglimas* who went out engaged the Dutch troops, and there was a fight in which there were losses on both sides. The Dutch soldiers, of whom there were thousands, kept up an incessant fire of musketry, which crackled like the popping of rice being parched. Numbers of Bugis were shot down (martyred in God's cause) before they could reach the enemy, but those who could get up to the Dutch attacked them hand to hand, and there was tremendous shouting and noise and many were killed and wounded on both sides. During this engagement the Dutch troops completely surrounded the large stockade, standing in rows, one row behind another. Then Raja Haji ordered a general attack to be made. Arong Lenga, who had to ride a pony because he was suffering from a kind of boil on the breast (*paipa*), charged the Dutch line with his men and was killed, he and his pony; of the Dutch, too, many were killed. A number of Dutch officers and soldiers then entered the stockade, and were encountered by Daing Selikang, with his *Panglimas*, Talisang and Haji Ahamad, who threw themselves upon the advancing lines of the Dutch troops and perished, all three of them, martyrs in God's cause, like brave men. Many others, too, there were, men of high standing, who died similarly and scorned to turn their backs. The Dutch lost about seventy men killed in this action, including three officers."

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* Expressions in praise of God often follow the ordinary prayers and are counted with the beads.

† Mulid-en-Nabi.

"Then Raja Haji arose and drew his dagger (*badek*), holding in his other hand the religious book which he had been reading. He was instantly seized by a number of his own followers who were trying to hold him back, and while this was going on he was hit by a musket ball fired from the Dutch ranks, and he fell and almost immediately expired."

"When the Dutch saw that Raja Haji had been killed they stopped firing and remained drawn up in ranks; all the followers of the Yang-di-per-Tuan Muda, male and female, quitted the stockade and made their escape unmolested by the troops. Among these were the two sons of Raja Haji, Raja Jafar and Raja Idris, and his nephew, Raja Suleiman; the latter was wounded and was carried off by his people. Raja Jafar was carried by a man named Inche Layar, a descendant of the family of Magat Inu. In this way, all the surviving followers of Raja Haji got clear away from Telok Katapang and made good their escape to Muar, without further molestation from the Dutch. Thus was Telok Katapang taken by the Dutch."

"It is related that after this the Governor of Malacca directed the Capitan Malayu and the elders of the city to go out and bring in the body of the late Raja Haji. A procession of men and women, with lamentations and weeping, conveyed the body within the walls of the fort in the manner customary at royal funerals, and as it passed the gate the Dutch fired minute guns. The whole expense of the interment was paid by the Governor of Malacca, and alms were distributed by the Capitan Malayu under his orders."

"Raja Haji was buried within the Fort of Malacca behind the Company's garden. Eventually his remains were removed by his son and were taken to Riau, where they were buried on the hill of Pulau Peningat—that is to say, the hill at the south of the island. I have been told by old people that before Raja Haji was buried, his body was placed in a coffin ready to be transported to Batavia, and a ship had been got ready for the purpose. The very night before she was to start a jet of light like fire was seen to issue from the coffin, and while all the people of Malacca were in confusion at seeing this occurrence, the ship which was to have conveyed the body took fire and blew up with all her crew, not one soul being saved.* On this account, said the relaters of this story, the removal of the body of Raja Haji to a foreign country was not accomplished. He was buried in Malacca and his remains rested there until they were removed to Riau. But it was because of this story that the Dutch of that generation gave him the name of Raja Api,† by which they used to speak of him."

I have, I think, reached, perhaps exceeded, the reasonable limits of a paper in this Journal, and will not, therefore, follow the Malay chronicler further, though he has much more that is interesting to say about the blockade of Kwala Selangor by Admiral Van Braam; the flight of Sultan Ibrahim to Pahang; the occupation of the fort by the Dutch; the brief and nominal tenure of power of the Siak adventurer, Raja Mohamed Ali, and his son, Saiyid Ali, in Selangor; the recovery of his fort by Sultan Ibrahim, aided by reinforcements from Pahang; the expulsion of the small Dutch garrison, and the eventual conclusion of a treaty of peace.

These events, though they had their origin in the quarrel between Raja Haji and the Dutch, belong to the history of Selangor, and the episode which is described in the Malayan ballad preserved by Logan is purely a Malacca one, and appropriately ends with the death of the Bugis Chief.

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* *Api*, fire.

† The Malay poem, which is the subject of this paper, is evidently, as already pointed out, the work of a Malacca Malay, hostile to the Riau invaders. Hence the entire omission by the poet of this superstitious explanation of the loss of the *Dolphijn*.

A word may be added as to the removal of the body of Raja Haji from Malacca to Riau, as to which the statement made (on p. 212 *supra*) is perhaps not quite correct. If, as the Malay chronicler says (*supra* p. 223), the remains of Raja Haji were transferred to Riau by his son, the bones which were removed in recent years must have been those of other persons. Interments, according to Malay usage, had perhaps occasionally been practised near the place, which had been rendered specially holy by the burial of one whom the people regarded as a Muhammadan hero. Exact particulars are wanting.

It would have been interesting, if possible, to supplement the records, both Dutch and Malay, of the war of 1784, by local traditions collected in Malacca. Stories of the Bugis invasion are, no doubt, preserved here and there by the Malay peasantry; and the lines of the stockades at Tanjong Palas and Teluk Katapang can, perhaps, be pointed out. But I have had no leisure for any such investigation; and additional facts, if any be forthcoming, must be left to be supplied by other hands.

I have only to add that if this imperfect attempt to record an important event in the history of Dutch domination in the Peninsula should be read by any of my learned and valued colleagues, the members of the Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-Land en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie, I trust that it may serve to assure them that that history is studied by Englishmen of to-day in a very different spirit from that which is evinced in Begbie's narrative.

The materials for a good account of Dutch rule in Malacca, the most ancient and famous city in these seas—now how sadly eclipsed by younger rivals—are gradually being supplied by the publication of selections from the Batavia records,* and it may be hoped that before long a competent historian may be found to undertake it.

W. E. MAXWELL.

THE RESIDENCY, SELANGOR,
*January, 1891.*

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* *Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia,* van J. A. Van der Chijs, Nijhoff, The Hague.

# VALENTYN'S ACCOUNT OF MALACCA.

(*Continued from p. 301 of No. 16 of the Society's Journal.*)

CONTRIBUTED BY

THE HON'BLE D. F. A. HERVEY.

[ I attach a continuation of former translations, which will complete this account.

I have to acknowledge valuable help given by Mr. J. R. INNES in revising this translation.

This paper is accompanied by a copy of VALENTYN'S map of Malacca.

D. F. A. H.]

* * *

IT was in 1627 that the board of administration at Batavia intended to make the next attempt, of which expedition one KAREL LIEVENSSOON was to be the Commander, but for some reason or other this plan had likewise to be given up. So it happened that it was not until 1640, in the reign of the said Prince ABDULJALIL SJAH II, and whilst the Hon'ble ANTONI VAN DIEMEN held the Governor-Generalship of India, that this matter was taken up in good earnest, detailed account of which we will give in the following chapter:—

## *Exact Account of the Siege and Conquest of the strong and famous Town of Malacca under the Administration of the Hon'ble Antoni van Diemen, Governor-General of India.*

For several years Malacca and the trade of the Portuguese with that place and in the southern part of India had been much hindered and troubled by the navigation of our war-vessels. We shall see later that in 1640 and 1641, a squadron under the command of JACOB KOPER, together with some vessels of the Johor Malays, blockaded the place so as to prevent it from being properly supplied with the most urgently needed provisions. That same year then, the Hon'ble ANTONI VAN DIEMEN, jointly with the Hon'ble Council of India, resolved to attack by main force, and, if possible, to take that strong and famous town, which, next to Goa, was the most important town of Portuguese India.

Their Honours intrusted the execution of this important business to Sergeant-Major ADRIAAN ANTONISSOON, an old, experienced and bold soldier. He left Batavia for Malacca in May, 1640, with three well-manned vessels, with orders to take over the command of the fleet from the Commander KOPER, to blockade the town on the seaside as closely as possible, and on the arrival of more troops from Batavia and of the auxiliary troops from the Kings of Acheen and Johor, to land with all his forces, and, according to circumstances, to try and take the town either by arranging terms, by siege, or by storming it, as he thought best.

In accordance with this plan, in the beginning of June, twelve ships and six boats so rigorously blockaded the town on the seaside, that its supply of victuals was almost entirely cut off, and hardly any one could succeed in leaving or entering the place; hence several vessels with provisions and one barge with fresh supplies from Goa were also taken by our people.

Meanwhile the King of Acheen refused us his assistance; but our fleet was constantly relieved by ships and troops (sailors and soldiers). In short, when at the end of July, the King of Johor's fleet of some 40 sail with a force of 1,400 or 1,500 men had joined our troops, which were partly Dutch, partly German, and of about the same strength, our Commander, on the 2nd of August issued the order that the combined forces should land at about one-third of a mile on the north side of the suburb of Malacca.(1) No sooner were the troops landed than they expelled the enemy, several hundred strong, from the first bastion and were so close at their heels, that they entered the suburb soon after them and drove them back within the fortress.

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(1) *i.e.*, Tranquerah.

Our troops then encamped in the conquered suburb, and after having built two batteries there within a pistolshot of the ramparts of the fortress, they battered them so fiercely with sixteen 24-pounders, that finally, notwithstanding the brave resistance of the enemy, several large breaches were made. These breaches exposed the enemy to a great danger, but they were able to meet it for a while by their extraordinary courage. The siege of the river preventing us from storming the town as yet, we could do nothing but blockade the town (within gunshot) from the seaside as closely as possible with our ships drawn up in half-moon form and harass the enemy by an uninterrupted cannonade and a constant throwing of bomb-shells, to which they did not fail to reply bravely and patiently from their heavy guns. This cannonade not only killed many people and wasted much powder and lead, but proved plainly that this siege would last a very long time, unless their Honours resolved to send a larger fleet than they had yet done to besiege the town. Though great scarcity of provisions prevailed in the town, and the Johorians assisted us in many ways, as, for instance, in supplying us with all sorts of materials, in building some of our batteries and other works, in preventing the enemy's small crafts from entering or leaving the town, and in hindering them in a hundred other ways, still it would have been impossible for us to take the town, if no other expedients had been adopted.

The pride of the Governor of Malacca, MANUEL DE SOUZA COUTINHO, and the stubbornness of the besieged Portuguese contributed not a little to the long duration of this siege, for several offers of a reasonable capitulation were rejected with contempt. Add to this the self-willed conduct of our Commander ADRIAAN ANTONISSOON and the fickleness of his successor JACOB KOPER, and it is no wonder that five months passed without the smallest improvement and with great expenditure and loss on both sides. Many remarkable encounters by sea and land occurred during this space of time, in which our people generally carried the day; the enemy, exasperated from want of provisions, used his utmost efforts to bring them by water into the town, which our people tried to prevent, and which caused bloody battles; also similar attempts by land were made at the same time in a determined manner, but were everywhere repelled by our men with the utmost courage.

The natural strength of the place itself, which was greatly increased artificially, conduced to enable it to withstand so many thousands of cannon-balls fired at it from our Artillery, especially from the sixteen 24-pounders. Yet, by this incessant battering not only were large breaches made in the strong bastions "Curassa" and "St. Domingo,"(1) but even the dome of the "Hospital des Pauvres" was levelled to the ground, and the tower of the old fortress, the church, and several large buildings were so badly damaged, that they were hardly recognizable. The hard-pressed Portuguese on the other hand did not fail to do us damage from their battery of extraordinary heavy pieces on St. Paul's Hill, so much so that not one house in our quarters in the suburb remained intact.

The protracted siege and the great want which followed, not only in the distressed town, but also in our army, caused a bad plague, with great mortality among the troops of both parties; more of the troops were destroyed by this disease than by the hand of the enemy. Hence, notwithstanding the many fresh supplies forwarded from Batavia with the necessary provisions, our troops were quite unable to invest the town on all sides in such a manner as to cut off all supplies of victuals to the enemy. Some deserters also gave us a great deal of trouble, as they informed the enemy of the bad condition of our army and so encouraged him not to yield for some time longer, till, perchance, relief might come from Goa, or we might at last raise the siege, to which suggestions they gave so much credit, that they resolved to persevere to the last, notwithstanding the wretched state in which they were.

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(1) This was at the N. W. corner of the fort facing what is now the New Market. (*See* "Plan of Portguese Fortress in Malacca," in vol. III of the Commentaries of Albuquerque translated by Mr. de Gray Birch for the Hakluyt Society.)

This stubborn, nay savage resolution of the enemy, caused the destruction in the month of December, 1640, and January, 1641, of a great number of people; besides which, many of the besieged, emaciated with hunger and unable any longer to resist, fled to our army. They informed us that there were in the town not more than 200 Europeans and only 400 or 500 Eurasians, and that victuals were so scarce that a *gantang*(¹) of rice was sold for 10 rix dollars, and a pound of dried cow's or buffalo's hide for 5 or 6 crusados,(²) and that it was very hard to get them even at that price. This want compelled the enemy to expel most unmercifully from the place many women and children and all useless mouths; famine was so prevalent that a mother actually exhumed the body of her own child and after having kept it for two days was driven by the pangs of hunger to eat it, to the consternation of all who heard of it.

Notwithstanding the wretched state of things in our camp, our people, greatly encouraged by the consistent reports of the extreme distress of the town, kept up their courage pretty well, though we had not only lost a large number of common soldiers, but also several brave men and chief officers of the army. Among these last ones were the Commissioner (Komissariss) JOHAN DE MEERE (who died on the 8th October), the Commander ADRIAAN ANTONISSOON (in November), and his successor JACOB KOPER (in the beginning of January, 1641), and Captain PIETER VAN DEN BROEK (the same who, as Director of Suratte and as the founder of the trade with Persia and the Red Sea, had retired to his native country with the rank of Chief Admiral, but, not having come very well out of these affairs, was sent here by his friend General VAN DIEMEN). Most of these men died from lingering diseases, and from the great hardships they had suffered here.

By this successive decease of our Commanders we soon felt the want of proper men for Commanders of our troops, and in the absence of more distinguished officers (the whole of the Secret Council having died and a new one having been

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(1) A gallon.

(2) Marked with a cross on one face.

appointed from among the officers of the army and the fleet) Captain MIME WILLEMSSOON KAARTEKOE was approved as the Hon'ble Company's Commander of the land and naval forces before Malacca (though I cannot understand why others more suitable than Heer KAARTEKOE, as, for instance, Heer LAMOTIUS and Captain FORCENBURG were overlooked). KAARTEKOE then, in conformity with the advice of the Council (which, at that time, was composed of experienced and valiant Captains and seamen) to prevent our army further dwindling away from the ever-increasing pestilence, resolved to storm the moribund town of Malacca (which now scarcely offered any resistance) and to compel its inhabitants in this manner to surrender. After having held a day of public prayers, preparations were made for the storming of the town on the morning of the 14th of January, and, by the grace of God, that rich and important town was taken in the following manner :—

At daybreak of the 14th January, Sergeant-Major JOANES LAMOTIUS formed three columns of all our healthy troops (both soldiers and sailors), numbering about 650 men altogether, of which Captain LAURENS FORCENBURG commanded the first column, Captain HURDT the second, and Captain NICOLAAS JANSSOON HOUTKOOPER the third. These troops, partly armed with muskets (the sailors carrying ladders), marched towards the Bastion "St. Domingo" and shouting the war cry "Help us God" they stormed that part of the town with irresistible courage. For a time the enemy offered a brave and unexpected resistance, but after a fierce hand to hand fight we became masters of this point, drove the flying enemy from there along the skirts of the town to the point "Madre de Dios," took that also after a weak resistance, and so successively the points "Our Mille Virgines," "St. Jago,"(1) "Curassa" and the "Hospital Bulwark." But at the "Fortilessa Velha" our men met with such a brave resistance, that they had to retreat with a loss of twenty men to the said Hospital, where they were beyond the range of the enemy's guns of heavy calibre and from where we could sweep them with our

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(1) This, from the plan, must have been near where the old gateway is,

Artillery.

At that moment Commander KAARTEKOE having risen from his sick-bed and making his appearance on the town ramparts, most inopportunely prevented, by his want of judgment, the successful completion of the attack which our troops had now entirely in their hands, for (most unwarrantably and contrary to the custom of war) he entered into an agreement with the Portuguese Governor and (at his request) some priests, promising them and all the inhabitants of the town (with the exception of the King's soldiers) a free and safe retreat. The enemy then having abandoned that strong bulwark "Curassa" and the old fortress, our troops marched into those places and occupied them and all the other points.

The soldiers of the enemy were then immediately lodged in our camp, and ours in the town, whilst the respectable Portuguese inhabitants and their families were left peaceably in their houses, but ordered to carry all the gold, silver, jewels and money which they possessed to the Church of St. Paul.(1) Such good order was maintained that nothing was heard of murder, brutality or ravishing, though some of our soldiers (after having endured so much want and misery) in their first transport plundered some churches and brothels.

The Johor Malays, who had been ordered at daybreak to raise a false alarm near the bulwark "St. Jago," did not show themselves till after sunrise, when most of the bulwarks had already been taken by our soldiers; they then meant to get into the town by the conquered breach, but Heer LAMOTIUS wisely stopped them to prevent the further shedding of Christian blood, especially by the Moors, who intended to plunder and to destroy the whole town. Thus, not without great loss of men and money to the Hon'ble Company, we at last conquered that famous, strong and powerful mercantile place of the Portuguese, the matchless Malacca, which they had possessed 120 years. This being a strongly fortified and large place, superior to any other place in the East (save Goa), for its importance and many other advantages for which reason it was of old selected as the seat of the Malay

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(1) On the top of the hill.

Kings, posterity may safely look upon this conquest as a proof of the valour of the Batavians. The ramparts and bastions were armed with 64 brass and 4 iron guns, 43 brass swivel guns and 31 iron ones, and the place was well provided with the best war materials.

The great number of inhabitants, the long duration of the siege and other unexpected misfortunes compelled the gallant Portuguese (for nobody will say that they did not behave gallantly during the whole siege), finally, when in want of everything and when no rescue appeared, to surrender the town. It had at that time several pretty broad and properly laid out streets, a small hill in the middle with the Church of St. Paul at its top and the beautiful Convent of the Order of Jesuits on its slope, besides many other churches and convents and very fine lofty buildings and houses; and, having been built in an exceedingly fertile tract of land, it was situated as advantageously as possible for the trade in the southern part of India.

But we must say that, if the Portuguese during this siege suffered such great calamities, they deserved it as a righteous punishment of God; for having led here for so many years such an incredibly godless life, they really could not be astonished at the terrible destruction of this town by war, famine and pestilence (the three scourges of which God so often makes use to punish similar places).

It is supposed that during the siege more than 7,000 persons died in the town, but that, in order to escape famine and pestilence, a much greater number fled from the town and were scattered all over the neighbouring country;(1) for of its population of more than 20,000 souls before the siege, no more than 3,000 inhabitants were left.

We lost before that place more than 1,500 Hollanders, mostly, however, of contagious diseases.

The Portuguese Governor died of disease two days after the surrender of the town, and was buried in the Church of

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(1) This will probably account for signs of Portuguese type to be noticed occasionally both amongst Malays and aborigines, and apparently Christian legends found amongst the latter by Père Borie and referred to by him in a paper in the Journal of the Anthropological Institute.

St. Domingo(¹) with much pomp and a guard of honour from our troops after the manner of his country.

The Ovidôr-General (*i.e.*, their Fiscal of India), the Jesuits, the other priests and the principal citizens with their wives and children, left Malacca a few days afterwards in a vessel (which we lent them) for Negapatam; and since we did not visit and search this ship most probably he (the Ovidôr-General) carried away a treasure of money of at least several hundred thousands of rix dollars, besides what the others took with them.

LOUIS MATHIAS DE SOUSA CHYSORRO, the Commander of the troops, and the other officers and soldiers of the King of Spain were sent to Batavia, together with some priests and citizens. A few married Portuguese and the Eurasians with their families were left, so that the town might not be depopulated after its surrender, and so that we might be in a position to open it up again in time, as we afterwards did.

On the 1st of February, 1641 (*i.e.*, 17 days after the conquest of the town), Heer JOHAN VAN TWIST, Extraordinary Member of the Council of India, and the Commissioner Heer JUSTUS SCHOUTEN, arrived in the ruined town.

The former (first Dutch Governor of Malacca), after having inspected the whole town and its surrounding territory, made the necessary arrangements for the right administration of this conquered country, altering many things that had been badly and rashly managed through the ignorance of Commander KAARTEKOE, who, soon afterwards, returned to Batavia together with the superfluous officers and troops to bring to their Honours in person the news of the conquest of this town. This account of the siege and conquest of Malacca in all its details may merit so much more credit, from the fact that it is taken from a report dated 26th October, 1641, drawn up in Malacca by the Commissioner SCHOUTEN in person, and forwarded to their Honours at Batavia, though I doubt very much if that report can be found among the official records, either at Batavia or at Malacca, since many old papers (especially at Batavia) have been lost by the length of time and

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(1) Behind the bastion of that name.

through accidents, and that at present but very few records, reaching beyond 1650, are still to be found.

One of the first matters taken in hand by Heer VAN TWIST was the constitution of a Board of Town Magistrates. The Factor and Fiscal, GERARD HERBERTS, arrived here with his family per the storeship *Gragt* on the 15th of May. According to letters from their Honours at Batavia there arrived at that place from Malacca on 11th December, 1640, the ship *Rynsburg;* on 16th January, 1641, the ship *Langerak;* on 24th January, the *Kleine Zon* with the news of the conquest of Malacca; on 10th February, the ships *Goes* and the *Taljoot de Jager* and the *Quelpart* and the *Brak;* on 13th February, the *Egmond;* on 18th February, the ship *Klein Zutphen;* and on 3rd April the *Wassenaar* with the late Commander MIME WILLEMSSOON KAARTEKOE.

Their Honours received with these ships all the papers treating at large the matters of Malacca.

Several necessaries, to the amount of 3,801 rix dollars, had been forwarded per the said storeship *Gragt* and per some other ships, whilst different sorts of calicos to an amount of rupees 31,341 had been sent with the Factors JAN DIRKSSOON PUYT and JORIS VERMEEREN for the tin trade at Perak, Kedah, Ujong Salang(1) and Bangeri, besides 1,000 rix dollars in specie. 31,341 guilders were also sent for the use of the above-named places, with orders that as much tin as could be got was to be sent to Batavia for the trade with Suratte and Persia.

Their Honours sanctioned all that had been done by the Governor and the Council and ordered them to continue to govern in the same way and to levy no other taxes, duties or money than those that existed under the Portuguese rule, so as to prevent further trouble, but, at the same time, to take full revenue which the King of Spain had enjoyed and not to surrender anything that they were properly entitled to.

On the 22nd May Heer GERARD HERBERTS, the new Fiscal (Attorney-General), examined and sentenced for the first time several criminal prisoners, whilst the first repairs of the

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(1) Now known as 'Junk Ceylon.'

Bastion "Victoria" or "St. Domingo" were started on 23rd May, 1641. On 13th August, the Sjahbander JAN JANSZ MENIE returned from Maccam Thoheet with letters from the Orang Caia Laksamana to the Governor, containing the news that the Achinese accepted peace and promised to stop all enmity and robbery. From the letter of the Laksamana to the Governor it appears that Acheen was ruled at that time by a Queen.(1) The Governor of Malacca then requested the said Laksamana to send him ten boat-loads of timber for the repairs of the bridge of Malacca, some 200 Malay carpenters and oars and paddles.

In a letter to their Honours at Batavia forwarded per the *Amboina* the Laksamana of Johor complained very much of the want of fulfilment of the promises made to him and to his King by former Commanders before the conquest of Malacca, and according to an agreement, made before the siege of Malacca, he requested the Company to return to the King of Johor all the big and small guns, which the Portuguese had taken from him.

On the 14th of August the *Neptunus* arrived from Coromandel with a cargo of purchased goods, amounting to rupees 265,975, viz.:—

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| 250 | bales of different calicos from *Palliacatte* at ... ... ... | Rs.86,028 |
| 482 | bales of calicos, sugar, indigo, salpetre, thread, &c., from *Mazulipatam,* at ... | 179,947 |
| 732 | bales of different goods, at ... | Rs.265,975 |

The storeship the *Duyf* with 28 hands, despatched from Acheen by the Commissioner JUSTUS SCHOUTEN, arrived at Palliacatte in a very damaged condition, with broken main and fore-mast and lost mizen-mast, for which reason, Heer ARENT GARDENYS, Governor of Palliacatte, ordered it to Bengal to have it repaired there. There being a great demand for cloves at Mazulipatam, the Factor, ARNOLD HENSSEN, and BARTHOLOMUS DE GRUITER were convinced that, if their Honours liked to sell them at 4 or 5 Pagods [ A Pagod is an Indian golden coin of $2.20.—Translator.] a basket of 24 lbs, they could easily sell 100,000 lbs. in a short time. All the other goods and produce of the Company were also pretty well sold during the past year, notwithstanding the uninterrupted wars.

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(1) Sekander Muda, the King in whose time Achin attained its greatest prosperity, and who began to reign in 1606, had just died. He was to have aided the Dutch in their siege of Malacca, but declined, owing to their alliance with his enemy—Johor. Achin was ruled for the next sixty years by Queens.

The enemy who had been lying several days with his army before Galle, having decamped on the 23rd May, 1641, marched to Billegam, Mature and Gindere(1) laying hand upon everything that he could catch and laying waste the whole country about Galle in order to intercept the provisions to our people. At that time Raja SINGAH forwarded from Ceylon to Coromandel five wretched elephants which were not worth sending. Among the home freights were 422,304 lbs. of indigo. The vessel *Danish President Barent Passaart* took some tobacco to Bengal.

Heer JOHAN VAN TWIST, Governor of Malacca, wrote on 8th September, 1641, *viâ* Palembang to Jambi and sent this letter per the English ship *Anne* to have it forwarded to the Captain HENRIK VAN GENT. The said English ship *Anne* arrived at Malacca on the 8th of August, together with the *Franiker* bringing the Commissioner JUSTUS SCHOUTEN. Twenty persons died of a contagious disease on board the *Franiker* on its voyage to Malacca.

The old King of Atsjien, hearing of the resistance made by Malacca, was very irresolute and much inclined to make peace with the Portuguese; but he fortunately died in 1641 and was peaceably succeeded by his spouse as Queen, which was for the advantage of the Company. Peace was made with Djohor on reasonable conditions, and the Portuguese Ambassador, FRANCISCO DE ZOUZA, who had been detained in prison for a very long time, was released and forwarded as a present to the said Commissioner SCHOUTEN. And everything would have turned out to the best of the Company's wishes but for one thing, viz., that the Company suffered a heavy loss through the sale of the deceased King of Atsjien jewellery, since but 5,025 tahils of the said jewellery were taken over by the Queen, and this amounted only to guilders 60,300, since Her Majesty said, first that it was not right to transfer to the living the debts of the dead and besides that the said jewels could not be worn with a Queen's dress and that the King had squandered much money and drained his country to purchase them, with a hundred other excuses too many to recount. From which it may be seen how dangerous it is to trust to fickle Indian princes in such matters, the more so as there was here nowhere else to send the goods to and they must either be sent back to the Netherlands with great loss or else sold at a loss.

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(1) *Weligama, Matara* and *Gintota.*

The Queen reigned very peacefully, but she did nothing without the knowledge of her four chief Counsellors, who made a secret alliance, never to be ruled by a foreign King, and in order to realise that purpose, and to prevent a marriage of the Queen with a foreign Prince, they had inserted in the said treaty of peace, concluded with the King of Djohor, the express condition, that they should never send Ambassadors to each other, but that each of them should remain within the boundaries of his or her territory and refrain from all hostilities. This peace, therefore, was not at all disadvantageous for Djohor, its jurisdiction being properly and legally settled, whilst the averting of Ambassadors became a tacit excuse for being exempted from paying homage to the Atsjien crown generally, the first and chief cause of war between the said two Kings. But fearing that Djohor might get annoyed by the Queen's letter to us, in which the proud Achinese nature made it appear as if *we* had asked pardon for the crime committed by Djohor, we refuted this misrepresentation immediately in the presence of the Achinese and Djohor Ambassadors, and we sent, moreover, the Shabandar JAN JANSZOON MENIE with a letter to the Laksamana of Djohor, in which we made a clear report of the matter and of the arrogance of the Achinese to which we added, that it ever had been and would be our principal aim to maintain peace between these two Princes. (Time, however, will show if Djohor will keep peace.)

The day after the arrival of Commissioner SCHOUTEN, the vessel *D'Eendracht* arrived at this place from Coromandel, with a freight of calicos worth guilders 165,000, and on the 10th ditto, the (sloop) *Amboina* quite unexpectedly entered the river here. Having left at 6 degrees Northern latitude the vessels under the command of DOMINICUS BOUWENS (sailing from Ceylon to Java) she had touched Acheen and brought first the news of the demise at that place of the Underfactor, HENRIK VAN RENDORP, Assistant to the Factor, JAN COMPOSTEL, and further that on account of the close occupation till the 2nd May, but one Portuguese vessel had arrived at Goa, which brought the news that the two caracks, with the new Viceroy, JOAN DE SYLVA, on board, which left Lisboa in September last, were still lying under the protection of the Fortress Aguada, and that it was most likely quite impossible to return this year to Europe. Leaving Goa, the said Commander BOUWENS sailed to Ceylon with the vessels *Amboina*, *Arnemuyden* and *Valkenburg;* on his arrival there he heard that Punto Galle was besieged by the Portuguese, about 700 or 800 strong, under the Command of Don PHILIPPO DE MASCARENHAS, but that the place was not in distress, since the President, JAN THYSSEN, held the fortress with a garrison of 500 men well provided with all sorts of necessities. As Mr. SCHOUTEN had to remain here still a little longer, he thought it better to despatch *D'Eendracht* first, so, after having shipped on board the Coromandel freight, worth guilders 165,000, the unsold jewels, cash rix dollars 1,009, four undamaged brass guns from the ramparts of Malacca and a big bell for the church of Batavia, of a total value of guilders 139,431-17-8, it sailed from here on 14th September last.

On 24th September the *Franiker,* with Commissioner SHOUTEN on board, left this place with a freight of Achinese pepper, some rice, 27½ bhara of Andragiri pepper (purchased of the British *Anne* at rix dollars 25 a bhara), besides 7 damaged guns and other rubbish, altogether worth guilders 2,273.14.

He hoped to arrive soon at Batavia, so as to be able to give their Honours a thorough report on the condition of this place and to forward there the things that most needed, viz., a sufficient number of soldiers to reinforce the garrison, some workmen to repair the fortifications and breaches and, what was most important, some Chinese to cultivate the fields and gardens. He expressed his hope to be back here in September of next year and then to complete the arrangement of matters in the stronghold.

On the 15th of October Commander PIETER BAAK arrived at Malacca with the vessels *Welsing* and the *Franiker* and *Bergen op de Zoom* with 100 soldiers and a freight of guilders 44,144, and, according to letters from their Honours, the following ships had arrived there (Batavia) from this place (Malacca) viz.:—

On 25th July, 1641, the vessel *Kleen Zutphen;* on 17th August the *Breedam* and the *d'Eendracht* with the garrisons of Mazulipatam and Palliacate; on 7th September the *Franiker* with the Commissioner Heer SCHOUTEN and the Achinese Ambassadors; and on the 9th September the yacht *Limmen* with a full freight of rice.

On the arrival of the said Commissioner, their Honours received an exact report of the whole condition of Malacca, and granted their approbation to all that had been done; they sent first the said two vessels, which 8 or 10 days afterwards were to be followed by the *Arnemuyden, Bredam* and the yacht *de Sterre,* first to assist in the action against Ceylon, and then to reinforce the fleet under the command of MATHYS QUAST, which had sailed to Goa on 18th July last. The vessel *Akkersloot* was to follow next with a cargo of different cloths, nutmegs, cloves and mace for Persia, and to take thither also the tin bought at Peirah, Keidah, Salang and Bangeri and brought to Malacca per *Gragt.* We received from Gamron 700 bales of silk, and expected daily some 200 bales more per *Sandvoort* and *de Paum* which both had left that place on 2nd June: we will mention afterwards the reason why Factor ADRIAAN VAN OSTENDE had been induced to purchase that silk. The Company's factory at that place being burdened with a sum of guilders 300,000, their Honours gave orders to take the said tin to Persia and to sell it there. After an administration of one year and ten months Heer VAN TWIST was succeeded in 1642 by Heer JEREMIAS VAN VLIET as 2nd Governor of Malacca, who arrived there from Palembang and Jambi on 7th November per *de Luypaard ;* his installation as such took place on 15th December by the Commissioner PIETER BOREEL, whereupon Heer VAN TWIST left this place with the vessel on 21st December.

On 27th April, 1645, a letter from their Honours arrived here in which they offered Mr. VAN VLIET 200 guilders a month, and the honorary title of Extraordinary Counsel of India, if he would sign a new agreement for 3 years ( to count from 18th August, 1644 ), but mentioning at the same time, that, if he did not wish to make a new agreement, he had to transfer the administration to Heer ARNOLD DE VLAMING VAN OUDTSHOORN, who was on his way as Commissioner to Atsjien.

The said Heer DE VLAMING arrived here with that letter on 15th May, left as Commissioner for Atsjien *viâ* Peirah on 22nd ditto, and returned here from there on 15th October. Heer VAN VLIET accepted the new agreement, but their Honours granted him, by a letter dated 2nd September, a leave to Batavia, as he had to see their Honours on different matters of importance and to give account of his first administration. The Commissioner Heer ARNOLD DE VLAMING VAN OUDTSHOORN was then appointed acting 3rd Governor of Malacca on 6th November, 1645, with the charge to remain here until later orders of their Honours, whilst Heer VAN VLIET left for Batavia on 11th ditto, after an administration of about 3 years.

Whereas the said Heer DE VLAMING had assumed in the meantime the title of Governor, their Honours not only expressed their dissatisfaction in a letter of 6th December, but told him that Heer VAN VLIET still being Governor, he ( DE VLAMING ) should assume the title henceforward of President only. He was succeeded in 1646 by Heer JOHAN THYSSOON PAIJART ( who arrived here on 22nd November ) as the 4th Governor of Malacca and who was introduced as such on 24th ditto by the Commissioner Heer JOHAN VAN TEYLINGEN, who arrived here on 21st November, whilst Heer DE VLAMING left for Batavia *viâ* Andragiri on 15th December next per the *de Ryp*. It was during the administration of the said Heer PAIJART in 1651 that the Malays of Kedah and Perak murdered nine Netherlanders. The said gentleman held the administration of this place for 16 years (something very rare) and was succeeded on 1st November, 1662, by Heer JOHAN VAN RIEBEEK (who arrived here on 18th October per the *Slot Honingen* as 5th Governor), but with the titles of Commander and President only, whilst Heer PAIJART, after having introduced the said gentleman as such, sailed for Batavia on 8th ditto per the same vessel.

On 22nd September, 1665, arrived here Heer BALTHASAR BORT per the *Meliskerke*. Having been here before for several years in the service of the Company, he was introduced on 16th October by Heer VAN RIEBECK as the 6th Commander and President, whereupon VAN RIEBECK sailed for Batavia on that very night after an administration of about 3 years. On the 6th August, 1668, their Honours wrote to Heer BORT, that the "seventeen gentlemen"(1) had appointed him to be a Governor and granted him this new title.

In 1669 the expenditure of this Government amounted to rix dollars 201,443 with a clear profit of rix dollars 56,926.

On 4th February, 1670, their Honours wrote again that the "seventeen gentlemen" had made his Honour a member of the Extraordinary Council of India with a new agreement of 5 years.

ABDULDJALIL SJAH II, King of Johor, died in 1671 and was succeeded by Sultan IBRAHIM SJAH, as the 20th Malay and the 14th Muhammadan King and the 8th King of Johor. He reigned 11 years, viz., from 1671 to 1682.

On 14th May, 1678, Heer BORT received a letter, mentioning him that the "seventeen gentlemen" had made him Ordinary Counsel of India.

On 30th April, 1679, arrived here Heer JACOB JORISSOON PITS, Extraordinary Counsel of India, who was introduced by Heer BORT on 10th October as the 7th Governor of this place, whereas Heer BORT sailed from here with the *Nieuwe Noordwyk* on 16th ditto, after an administration of 4 years.

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(1) The Directors of the Company.

On 22nd November, 1680, arrived here from Batavia per *Den Briel* Heer COMELIS VAN QUAALBERG, who succeeded Heer PITS as the 8th Governor of this place on 23rd December, whilst the said Mr. PITS left here on 14th January, 1681, with the vessels *de Veluwe* and *Kroonenburg* as Commissioner for the Coast of Coromandel and Bengal to succeed Heer WILLEM KAREL HARTSING as Governor of those places. By a letter from the "seventeen gentlemen," dated 30th November, 1681, the said Heer VAN QUAALBERG was appointed Extraordinary Counsel of India on 2nd November, 1682.

In the same year IBRAHIM SJAH, King of Johor, died and was succeeded by Sultan MOHAMMED SJAH II, who was the 21st Malay and the 15th Muhammadan King, and the 9th King of Johor, and who reigned there till 1699, *i.e.,* 17 years.

On 20th September, 1684, arrived here per the *Silversteyn* Heer NICOLAAS SCHAGHEN, Extraordinary Counsel of India, who was introduced on 1st December by Heer VAN QUAALBERG as 9th Governor, whilst the latter one sailed from here per the *Japan* to Batavia on 6th ditto. Their Honours wrote on 30th October, 1685, to Heer SCHAGHEN, that they had appointed him by decree of 23rd ditto Director of Bengal, and that they had elected as his substitute Heer FRANÇOIS TAK, then Ambassador and Commissioner to the Emperor of Java; but as the said gentleman would not arrive here before April next, he (SCHAGHEN) had to transmit the administration to the Secunde, Heer DIRK KOMANS, who was then introduced by Heer SCHAGHEN on 5th January, 1686, as Commander of this place, whilst Heer SCHAGHEN left for Bengal on 12th ditto per *de Stryen.*

On 19th November arrived here from Batavia per the *Hoogergeest* Heer THOMAS SLICHER, Extraordinary Counsel of India, who was introduced by Heer KOMANS on 26th ditto as the 10th Governor of Malacca. That worthy gentleman, who held the Governorship of this place to the general satisfaction from 1686 to 1691, suffered badly from a sad disease, which made him commit suicide on 18th October by jumping out of a window. After his death Heer KOMANS again acted till he was relieved by Heer GELMER VOSBURG, who was introduced by Heer KOMANS on 1st October, 1692, as the 11th Governor of Malacca.

Their Honours wrote on 15th April, 1696, that, by their decree of 10th ditto, Heer VOSBURG had been elected Commissioner for Coromandel and that Governor GOVERT VAN HOORN had been chosen to relieve him here. He arrived at this place on 2nd November per the *Spierdyk* and was introduced on 1st January, 1697, by the Secunde, Heer ABRAHAM DOUGLAS ( Mr. VOSBURG being ill ), as the 12th Governor of Malacca.

In the meantime their Honours had written already on 19th October of the year before to Heer VOSBURG, that on account of ill-health he was discharged from his commission to Coromandel. He died here the 10th January, 1697, after an administration of 4 years and 3 months and was buried in the St. Paul's Church.

MOHAMMED SJAH II, King of Johor, died in 1699, and was succeeded by Sultan ABDULDJALIL SJAH III as the 22nd Malay and the 16th Muhammadan King and the 10th King of Johor.

I have not been able to trace how long this Prince has reigned, and who succeeded him, but after a reign of 9 years he was still alive in 1708, so, if we begin to count the Rule of the Malay Kings from 1160, the reign of these 22 Kings had lasted in the said year 547 years and 11 months.

On 11th November, 1700, Heer BERNHARD PHOONSEN arrived here per the *Ellemeet* from Batavia, who was introduced on 24th ditto by Heer VAN HOORN as the 13th Governor of Malacca, whilst on the same day the late Governor went on board of the *Carthago* and left for Batavia after an administration of about 4 years.

On 17th June, 1703, Heer PHOONSEN received the news that, according to a letter dated 18th September, 1702, their Honours the "seventeen gentlemen," had appointed him Extraordinary Counsel of India and a Commissioner for the Coast of Coromandel. But unfortunately, both he and his splendid vessel *de Vogel Phenix* were taken by the French in 1705, on his way thither, for which fact he was prosecuted after his release, but, though with much trouble, finally acquitted.

On 18th December, 1703, the Japanmen arrived here under Heer JOHAN GROOTENBUYS' colours escorted by a squadron of men-of-war.

On 18th January, 1704, the said Heer GROOTENBUYS was appointed by Heer PHOONSEN to be provisionally Commander of this place, whereupon he ( Heer PHOONSEN ) embarked that very evening on board of *de Ellemeet* and left this place with the whole fleet on the following day.

On 10th May Heer KAREL BOLNER arrived here per *de Schoondyk* from Punto Galle, who was introduced on 22nd ditto by the said Heer GROOTENBUYS as the 14th Governor of Malacca.

The 10th January, 1707, Heer PIETER ROOSELAAR, arrived here per the *Serjantsland,* who was introduced on 7th March by Heer BOLNER as the 15th Governor of Malacca, whilst the said late Governor left this place in the afternoon of that day.

On 6th September of the same year the said Heer ROOSELAAR received the news that, according to a letter dated 30th October, 1706, their Honours the "seventeen gentlemen" had appointed him Extraordinary Counsel of India.

Shortly afterwards ( 1708 ) the solicitor and advocate, Mr. ABRAHAM VAN KERVEL, arrived here, who after having had a dispute with the said Governor and ( if I am not mistaken ) having been put in jail by him, wrote to Batavia and brought about that their Honours sent to this place in 1709 Heer WILLEM SIX to succeed Heer ROOSELAAR, who was sent up to Batavia together with the whole board of administration with the exception of Captain PALM. Heer SIX arrived here on 7th November, and was introduced on 16th December as the 16th Governor of Malacca by Heer ROOSELAAR who left this place for Batavia a few days afterwards per the *Nichtevegt.*

Hoping that he had been cured Heer SIX released the said Heer VAN KERVEL, but he became so troublesome that he was obliged to send him up to Batavia in 1710.

By order of their Honours he ( Heer VAN KERVEL ) returned to this place in 1711, but I have heard that the board of administration did not allow him to come on shore, but sent him back again to Batavia, at which their Honours were so greatly offended, that they summoned the Governor, Heer VAN SUCHTELEN (the Secunde), Captain TREKMEYER and RYKLOF JUSTUS COSTERUS; when sued at law by Heer VAN KERVEL in 1712 both Heer SIX and Heer VAN SUCHTELEN were not only dismissed from their office, but Heer SIX was fined in rix-dollars 400 and Heer VAN SUCHTELEN in rix dollars 300 whereas the two others were acquitted.

On 21st May, 1711, per the *Venhuizen*, Heer WILLEM MOERMAN, arrived here, who, in compliance with their Honours' special order, was introduced by Heer SIX as the 17th Governor of this place on the day of his arrival, whilst Heer SIX sailed from here to Batavia per the same vessel on 16th July next.

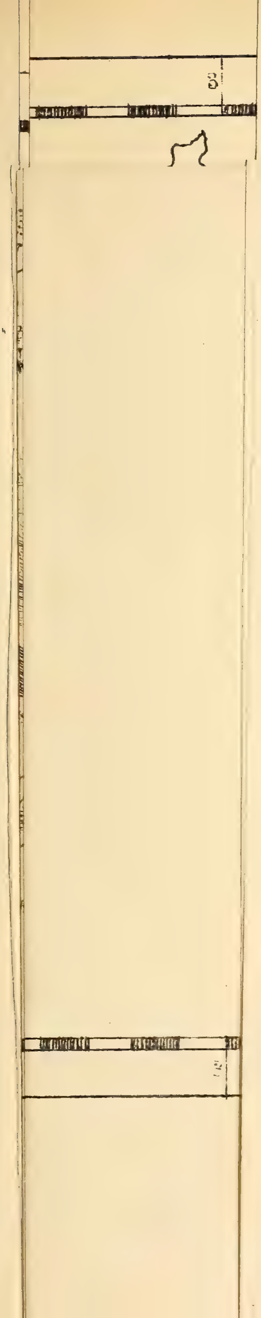
It is a strange fact, that the said Heer SIX and VAN SUCHTELEN, although fined and ordered to pay all costs, shortly after having received the above-mentioned punishment, were completely rehabilitated by their Honours and admitted not only anew in the service of the Company, but declared also re-eligible for their former offices, a fact susceptible of several interpretations when it is remembered how long these men had openly made light of their Honours' authority.

Heer MOERMAN, too, who arrived here with several other members of the board of administration, could not agree with Heer VAN KERVEL, who arrived in the same vessel with him; he (VAN KERVEL) remained here till the end of 1711, returned then to Batavia and was by order of the "seventeen gentlemen" sent up to Patria in 1712.

Heer MOERMAN had the administration of this Government till 11th May, 1717, almost 6 years, at which date he died here. That year he was succeeded by Heer HERMAN VAN SUGTELEN as the 18th Governor of Malacca, who is there still at present, viz., 1725.

The above then is an account of the most principal worldly matters of Malacca; before passing to the ecclesiastical matters we will attach first a list of the Malay Kings and those of Johor.

But first I must add to this a few words, viz., that the reader will never find in any work, written about Malacca or about those Kings, anything resembling our account, or any account worth mentioning, and this for the simple reason, that we have had the opportunity of drawing everything from the personal writings and historical notices made by the Kings of Malacca itself, which have never been seen by any previous authors or which could not be read or understood by them, and we hope that we have written something which will meet with the attention of observing and learned men, since we have had a great deal of trouble in digging up this from the dust of antiquity with much scrutiny and caution; but at the same time it has never tired us, as we were convinced, that this account would be agreeable to posterity and would acquaint it with many things of which it had never heard nor read of. To complete my account I have attached the list of the Kings of Malacca.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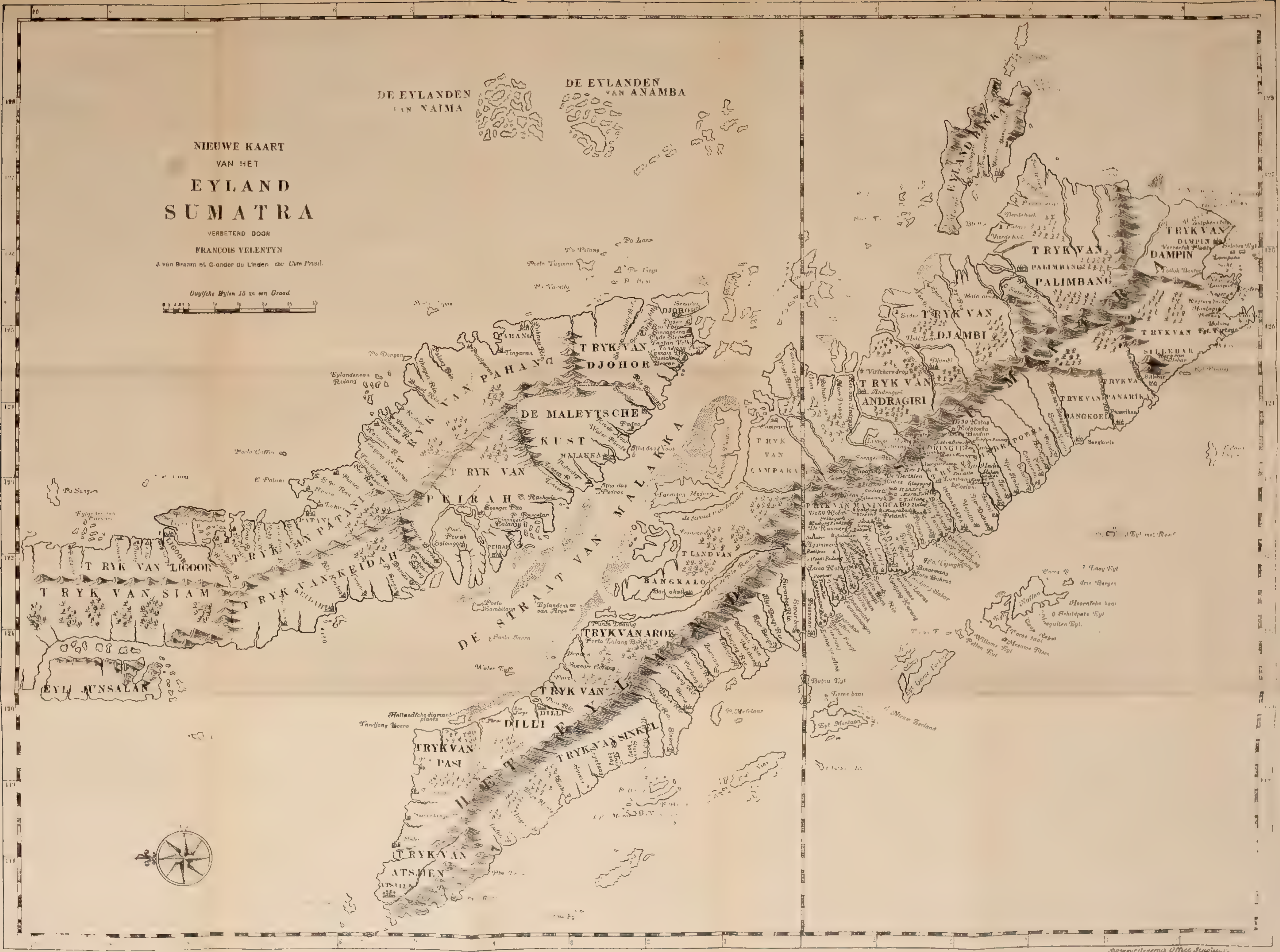

NIEUWE KAART
VAN HET
EYLAND
SUMATRA
VERBETEND DOOR
FRANCOIS VELENTYN
J. van Braam et G. onder de Linden exc. Cum Privil.

*Duytſche Mylen 15 in een Graad*

0 1 2 3 4 5 10 15 20 25 30
DE EYLANDEN VAN NAIMA
DE EYLANDEN VAN ANAMBA
EYLAND BANKA
T RYK VAN DAMPIN
T RYK VAN PALIMBANG
T RYK VAN DJAMBI
T RYK VAN ANDRAGIRI
T RYK VAN SILLEBAR
T RYK VAN PANARIKAN
T RYK VAN BANGKOEL
T RYK VAN CAMPAR
T RYK VAN MANINGCABO
T RYK VAN DJOHOR
T RYK VAN PAHANG
DE MALEYTSCHE KUST
MALAKKA
T RYK VAN PEIRAH
T RYK VAN PATANI
T RYK VAN LIGOOR
T RYK VAN SIAM
T RYK VAN KEIDAH
EYL. JUNSALAN
DE STRAAT VAN MALAKKA
T LAND VAN BANGKALO
TRYK VAN AROE
TRYK VAN DILLI
TRYK VAN SINKEL
TRYK VAN PASI
TRYK VAN ATSJEN
HET EYLAND SUMATRA
Po. Sangora
Posto Pulo Jarra
Water Eyl.
Eylanden van Aros
Hollandsche diamant plaats
Tandjong Beero
Batou Eyl.
Eyl. Mintaon
Nieuw Zeeland
P. Mefelaar
Eyl. met Reef
drie Bergen
Hoornsche baai
Schildpatte Eyl.
Engelse Eyl.
Willems Eyl.
Cocos baai

Surveyor General's Office Singapore

# THE LAW RELATING TO SLAVERY AMONG THE MALAYS.

[Among the papers which were printed and laid before Parliament in 1882 on the subject of Slavery in the Protected Native States was a minute by Mr. W. E. Maxwell, then Assistant Resident, Perak, in which the existing system was described, an emancipation scheme was proposed, and a translation of the Malay law relating to Slavery was promised. Mr. Maxwell having now presented to the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society his extracts from the Perak, Pahang and Johor Code, transliterated and translated, these are here printed for the first time, and are fitly prefaced by the official minute above referred to. *(See Parliamentary Papers, C.—3429, p. 16.)* That portion of it which deals with the emancipation scheme is omitted, the liberation of slaves and debtors in Perak having long since been effected. The native law, though no longer in force in the southern portion of the Peninsula, is probably not dissimilar to that which is still carried out in some of the islands of the Eastern Archipelago, more or less remote from European influence and authority.]

THE institution of slavery as it exists among the Malays, in places where it has not been abolished by European influence, is a national custom which they have in common with other Indo-Chinese races, and it is a mistake to suppose that it is the offspring of Muhammadan law and religion, the introduction of which among the Malays is of comparatively modern date.

Muhammadan law has, however, largely influenced Malay custom respecting slavery, and Arabic terminology is noticeable in many of the details incidental to the system. So far from being identical with the slavery lawful among Muslims in Egypt, Arabia, etc., the Malay institution is, in some respect, completely at variance with it, and in this particular, as in many others, there is a never-ending struggle between the *hukum ‘adat*, the "customary law" of the Malays, and the *hukum shar‘a* or "religious law" of the Koran. Muhammadan priests, who would sometimes seek, if they could, to enforce the latter, are met by the plea that the practice denounced is lawful by Malay custom, and it is thus that debt-bondage, like opium smoking, gambling,* etc. is always defended.

Slaves (*hamba* and *kawan*) in Perak are of two classes :—

(1) Slaves (*'abdi*).

(2) Debtors (*orang ber-hutang*).

A slave (*'abdi*) is either :—(1) A captive taken in war; (2) an infidel captured by force (*e.g.*, a Batak of Sumatra or Sakei of the Peninsula); (3) A man-slayer (*yang bawa darah mati*), or other criminal who is unable to pay the price of blood, or other fine (*diyat*), and who surrenders (*hulur*) himself and family to the Raja as slaves; (4) the offspring of a female slave (except when the owner acknowledges himself to be the father).

*Hulur.*—The Raja's privilege of retaining as slaves all persons who have taken human life, and who throw themselves upon his protection, seems to be purely Malay. In other points the definition of the status of slave given above is in accordance with Muhammadan law.

*Debt-bondage.*—A debt-bondsman, although often called *hamba* (slave), is more correctly termed *kawan* (companion). He is a free man (*mardahika*) as opposed to a slave (*'abdi*) though from his being obliged to serve his creditor in all kinds of menial employment, the two conditions are not always readily distinguishable.

*The Kuran, Sale's translation, C. II.*—This institution of debt-bondage is a native Malay custom, and is wholly opposed to Muhammadan law, which is most lenient to debtors. "If," says the Kuran, "there be any (debtor) under a difficulty (of "paying his debt) let (his creditor) wait till it be easy (for "him to do it); but if ye remit it as alms it will be better for "you, if ye knew it. And fear the day wherein ye shall "return unto God; then shall every soul be paid what it hath "gained, and they shall not be treated unjustly."

*Pecuniary limit of fine.*—Malay custom in Perak used to fix the value of a free man at $25 (100 *bidor*). Theoretically, a man could not be fined more than that sum, and was entitled to be released from bondage, on the tender of that sum, whatever might have been the nominal amount of the fine imposed by a Chief. In practice, however, in a state of society recognising no right but that of the strongest, the acknowledged existence of this custom has not prevented the imposition of fines by Rajas and Chiefs far exceeding in amount the sum above named and the retention in bondage of persons whose relation would willingly pay that sum for their release.

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* At Kota Lama in Perak, an Arab Haji, who ventured once to denounce gambling as irreligious and wicked, was driven from the *kampong* and narrowly escaped with his life.

*Slaves and debt-bondsmen in Perak before* 1874.—The number of slaves and slave-bondsmen now in Perak is probably 3,000, about one-sixteenth of the whole Malay population. Before the establishment of settled government, under the administration of British officers, this form of property was much more valuable than at present. Every Raja and Chief was accompanied, when he went abroad, and was served when at home, by numerous dependents, debt-bondsmen, and slaves, who lived in or near his house, and belonged to his household. If they misbehaved they might be beaten and tortured, and slaves (*'abdi*) might be killed. If they ran away a regular scale of rewards, calculated according to distance, defined the payment to be made by their owner to any one capturing them. The ownership of a number of slaves and debt-bondsmen was a mark of a man of rank, wealth, and influence, and the aggregate amount of capital represented by his debt-bondsmen often amounted to several thousand dollars. The desire to possess, as a dependent, some particular person, sometimes led to the invention of fictitious debts, and people were liable, with little hope of redress, to be dragged from their homes and taken to the house of some great man, nominally as security for some debt, of which, perhaps, they had never heard. No work that debt-bondsmen performed for their creditors and masters operated to lessen the debt. They served in his household, cultivated his fields, and worked in his mines; but such service was merely a necessary incident of their position and was not accepted in part payment. Sometimes the master fed and clothed them, but more often they had to supply themselves with all necessaries, notwithstanding that their labour was forfeited to the master's service.

The system of detaining persons in servitude as long as a debt for which they are liable is not discharged is very generally spread among the Malay races of the Archipelago. Through injustice and oppression it has been productive of peculiar hardship in Perak. CRAWFORD, in 1820, noticed the custom in the following passage:—

"If a debtor is unable to pay his creditor he is compelled to serve him until the debt be discharged, and he is then nearly in the condition of a slave. Every man has his fixed price, and if the debt exceed this, he either loses his liberty altogether or his family are compelled to serve the creditor along with him."

"The following two laws of Malacca have reference to this practice:—If a man be in debt to such an amount as to exceed his estimated price in the country, then it shall be lawful for his creditor to punish him by stripes or abusive language; but after the manner of a free man, and not of slave. If a man deflower a virgin that is his debtor, he shall be compelled either to marry her or forfeit the amount of the debt." *

This universal custom is more distinctly expressed in the laws of Sumatra, as collected by the officers of the British Government. "When a debt," say these, "becomes due and the debtor is unable to pay his creditor, or has no effects to deposit, he shall himself, or his wife, or his children, live with the creditor as his bond-slave or slaves until redeemed by the payment of the debt."

Among Rawa Malays of Sumatra (many of whom are settled in Perak) it is, I am assured, customary to detain a debt bondsman for two years only. At the expiration of that time the debt, if not paid, remitted as alms.

By Perak Malays, on the contrary, the national customs, when favourable to the debtor, have been openly disregarded, and every kind of oppression has been practised.

Notwithstanding the existence of a well-defined custom that the wife and children of a debtor should not be liable for his

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* *History of the Indian Archipelago,* III, 97.

debt unless it were incurred with their knowledge, and that the widow of a debt-bondsman should not be liable for more than a third of her husband's debt, it has gradually become usual for creditors to claim and enforce a right to hold the wife and family of a debtor in bondage for the full amount of any debt, during his lifetime and after his death. This cannot be justified by law or custom.

The daughters of a debt-bondsman, being in a manner the property of the creditor or master, were given in marriage by him, the dower *(isi kawin* or *mas kawin)* being paid to him It seldom happens among Malays of the lower orders that the dower is paid at the time of marriage; the man, therefore, who married a woman from the house of her creditor usually became liable to the latter for the dower (say about $30), and was thus himself reduced to the condition of a bondsman.

No part of the dower was, however, credited to the original debtor towards the extinction of his debt. Thus, if a debt-bondsman owing $100 had four daughters, all of whom were given in marriage by the creditor to men of his selection, the master would receive four dowers in cash, or would get four more debt-bondsmen in lieu thereof. But the original $100 would still remain. This monstrous injustice must be of modern introduction, or there would be few but debt-bondsmen among the population. It has been imitated from the analogous practice in the case of the slaves *('abdi)*, but it is an unjust and illegal innovation.

Another rule, which has, I believe, been frequently evaded in Perak, gave to any female debtor with whom her master cohabited, an absolute right to the cancelment of her debt, and made the latter punishable by fine if he did not give her her freedom.*

In the district of Kinta, the most important mining district in old days before the discovery of the Larut tin fields, debts were swelled in amount by a species of compound interest hardly conceivable among a people who profess to regard usury as sinful. Debts were usually calculated in tin, and were nominally payable in six months. Let it be supposed that a man in Kinta owed a *bahara* of tin (equivalent in value on the spot to $30, more or less), if he did not pay in six months he was liable by local custom for a *bhara* of tin *at the Penang price*, say three times its value at Kinta. The debt was then put down at three *bhara*, and a further time of six months given. If still unpaid at the expiration of the second period, the debt was again increased by the difference between the local price and that of Penang,* and so on indefinitely. The failure to pay a small debt in six months resulted commonly, therefore, in the reduction of the debtor to hopeless bondage for life.

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* See s. 59 of the Malacca Code transtated in NEWBOLD's Account of the Straits Settlements, II, p. 293.

Debt-bondsmen do not labour under the legal disabilities which in Muhammedan law are incidental to the condition of slave *('abdi)*, but they are to a certain extent the object of contumely.

*Slaves of the reigning family especially privileged.*—The royal slaves *(hamba Raja)*, or the slaves of the household of the reigning Sultan, were a special class, regarding whom certain peculiar rules and customs were in force. To strike one of them wrongfully, involved the penalty of death, and any person who enticed one away had to make good fourteen times his value.

Besides the slaves purchased or inherited by the Raja, those born in his household and those taken under his protection under the law of *hulur*, he became the master of a large number (especially females) by a most iniquitous custom which permitted him to forcibly carry off all the young women of certain districts, where there was no influential Chief or family to resist such tyranny *(e. g., Kampar, Sungkei,* and *Pulau Tiga*), to become attendants in the royal household. A royal marriage or the birth of a child in the royal family was the signal for the despatch of messengers to drag from their homes all the girls and young married women of suitable age to be found in the selected district. These, under the name of *dayang-dayang* (maid servants), *inang* and *pengasoh* (nurses) remained generally for life as the Raja's slaves. Those not already married and accompanied in bondage by their husbands, were seldom allowed to marry, and if permission was accorded their husbands partook their fate as royal slaves, while the dower *(isi kawin)* went to the Raja. Usually they led a life of prostitution with the knowledge and consent of the Raja and his household, and by their means a number of male attendants were always about the court, and the importance of the Raja was thereby outwardly increased.

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* The Penang price was the local price, *plus* freight and export duties.

At the time that British political officers were sent to reside in Perak the whole of the system above described was in full force. During the eight years which have elapsed since then, many causes have combined to render the slave laws practically much less oppressive, and the odious institutions of slavery and debt-bondage are now in fair way to die a natural death in the course of a few years.

A large number of persons remain in a state of partial slavery it is true, but in many cases they remain in that condition through choice or are only slaves in name. The arrival of a British Resident in Perak was an encouragement to those anxious to do so to free themselves, and some of the earliest difficulties which the first Resident (Mr. BIRCH) had with the natives of the country had reference to certain runaway slaves whom he refused to return. Since the Perak campaign of 1875-6, the death and banishment of many influential Rajas and Chiefs have given numbers of people their liberty, while such men of influence as have remained have generally been powerless to enforce the ancient laws against their slaves or to obtain their enforcement through the British officers employed in the State. Many of those inclined to do so, both slaves and debt-bondsmen, have left the masters and have assumed the status of free citizens without molestation, though they have been compelled in some instances to pay genuine debts proved in a court of law. In some cases where acts of oppresson or ill-treatment have come to the notice of British officers, their influence has procured the release of sufferers.

Most of the owners of slaves and debtors have come to look upon them as a comparatively worthless kind of property.

Since they can neither compel them by force to work nor punish them for disobedience or misbehaviour, the mere nominal ownership is of limited practical value. It is only in a few cases, where family pride and a clinging to old customs prompt some of the remaining Rajas and heads of families of Chiefs to retain as many personal adherents as they can, that the possession of slaves now bears any resemblance to the old state of things. In some of these instances, notably in the case of Raja Muda YUSUF, the present Regent of Perak, there is no doubt that men and women have been and perhaps still are detained in the condition of slaves without any grounds, which would constitute a right, even under Malay customary law. There is, however, little harsh treatment and complaints are rare.

The possession of slaves and debtors is more common in the North than in the South of Perak, desertion being difficult in the more secluded districts. Most well-to-do men at Kota Lama and Chigar Galah own several.

Slaves now in Perak may be divided as follows :—

(1.) *'Abdi, i.e.*, Batak, Sakei, and Habshi (Abyssinian) slaves and their descendants.

(2.) *Hamba Raja*, or royal slaves, who have been seized by a Raja or have become *hulur* to the State.

(3.) Debtors who have themselves contracted the debt for which they have forfeited their liberty.

(4.) Debtors who have become so merely by marrying a female debtor and thus becoming liable to her master for her dower.

(5.) Such wives, children and descendants of debtors as are lawfully liable for the debt according to Malay custom.

(6.) Persons who are really neither slaves nor debtors, but who are detained or claimed on fictitious or unlawful grounds.

Slavery in Perak could be stamped out at once by the adoption, by the Council, of resolutions founded on sections 2 and 4 of the Indian Act V of 1843 and providing first that "no rights "arising out of an alleged property in the person and services "of another as a slave shall be enforced" by any authority in Perak, and, second, that "any act which would be penal offence if done to a free man shall be equally an offence if "done to any person on the pretext of his being in a condi-" tion of slavery."

But the rights of proprietors have to be considered. Slaves have in many cases been acquired under circumstances perfectly in accordance with the law and custom of the country, and many debtors are *bonâ fide* indebted for specific sums to the person by whom they are detained in servitude. It would be unjust to deprive proprietors without compensation of this species of property.

Any form of inquiry which would involve the examination of master and slave before a tribunal of some kind regarding the origin or legality of the servitude would be most unpopular to the upper classes, and I have no hesitation in saying that most Malays of good birth would rather release their slaves and lose their money than meet them on quasi euqal terms in a court of inquiry.

I believe that if it were resolved by the Council that any slave, whether '*abdi* or debtor, might become free on payment to his owner, of the sum of $25 (which is, as has been pointed out above the price of a free-man according to Malay custom), a large proportion of the persons now in servitude would at once purchase their own liberty. They would be further stimulated to do so, if there were a provision authorising the Government to pay the sum and to require reimbursement by labour on some public work of utility.

There would still remain two classes of slaves to be dealt with—those unable to pay and those who ought not to be required to pay. The first of these classes would be further subdivided into those able to work and those unable to work. Those unable to pay but able to work should be entitled to claim their freedom on borrowing the redemption sum ($25) from Government, and giving an equivalent value in labour on public works. Those unable to pay or to work (aged persons and women and children) should be entitled to claim their freedom unconditionally after a specified time, say three years. Those who are unlawfully detained and who, therefore, cannot be required to pay anything should be entitled to claim their release at any time from a Committee appointed to receive and investigate such applications.

After a time to be fixed by the Council, say three years, slavery should altogether cease, and all claims upon debt-bondsmen should lapse.

* * * * *

Two codes of laws are known to the Perak Malays, though copies of them are extremely scarce among them, the "*Undang-undang ka-Raja-an,*"[*] or laws of the monarchy (or sovereignty), and the *Undang-undang Menangkabau,*" laws of Menangkabau sometimes called "*Undang-undang dua-blas,*" the twelve laws.

The former collection professes to be "the laws of Perak, Pahang and Johor," and contains many provisions identical with those of the Malacca code. In it I have found a number of regulations regarding slaves and debtors, which I have transliterated and translated.

Some are merely curious as showing from an authentic native source what was the condition of a slave in a Malay kingdom. Others may be of practical value to those entrusted with carrying out such measures for the abolition of slavery and debt-bondage as may be decided upon by the Council.

Nothing of value on the subject of slaves is to be found in the Menangkabau laws.

I trust to be able shortly to send in the translation above mentioned as an appendix to this Minute.

W. E. MAXWELL,

*Assistant Resident, Perak.*

*Larut, May 27th, 1882.*

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[*] Also called *Undang-undang delapan*, because they were the laws administered by the *Orang Besar Delapan*, or the eight Constitutional Chiefs.

# EXTRACTS.

FROM THE

# PERAK CODE OF LAWS RELATING TO SLAVERY.

*The original Text with Transliteration and Translation.*

باب يڠكدلافن فد مپتاكن حكم سڬل عبدي يڠ منستا حر ملك اوله حر اية دفوكلڽ جك اي ملاون ماتي سهاج جكلو تياد اي ملاون جك اي تربونه مپيله هرڬاپ عبدي اية دڠن هرڬ تبوسن جكلو تياد تربونه اوله حر ايت مڠادو اي كفد حكيم اتس اختيار حكيمله مڠحكمكندي جك حر اية مڠڠكاراكن عبدي ملك دلاوانڽ جك تربونه عبدي اية مپيله حر ايت دڠن هرڬ نيلي يڠبنر حكمڽ يڠ كفد راج لاين فول

سبرمول جكلو عبدي مڠذوچه حر دقصاصكن كمدين دفاسق تاڠنڽ كدوا ملينكن حر اية مماكي بيني عبدي سهڠڬ دقصاصكن سهاج جوڬ حكمڽ.

Bab yang ka-delapan pada menyata-kan hukum sagala ‘abdi yang me-nista harr maka uleh harr itu di-pukul-nya jika iya me-lawan mati sahaja jikalau tiada iya me-lawan jika ter-bunoh menyilih harga-nya ‘abdi itu dengan harga tebus-an jikalau tiada ter-bunoh uleh harr itu meng-adu iya ka-pada hakim atas akhtiar hakim-lah meng-hukum-kan dia jika harr itu meng-angkara-kan akan ‘abdi maka di-lawan-nya jika ter-bunoh ‘abdi itu menyilih harr itu dengan harga nilai yang benar hukum-nya yang kapada Raja lain pula—Sabermula jikalau ‘abdi meng-gochok harr di-kassas-kan kemdian di-pasak tangan-nya ka-dua me-lain-kan harr itu me-makei bini ‘abdi sa-hingga di-kassas-kan sahaja juga hukum-nya.

*Chapter the eighth.*—The law for the punishment of any slave who insults a free person and is beaten for it by him.—If the slave resists, he may be killed; if he does not resist, but is nevertheless killed, his price must be made good, calculated according to the sum for which he might be redeemed. If the free-man cannot kill him he may appeal to the judge and it is then for the judge to decide what is to be done to the slave.

If a free-man insults a slave and is resisted by him, should the slave be killed (in the encounter), the free-man must make good his price according to the full appraisement, but there is a different regulation where the slaves of a Raja are concerned.

If a slave assaults a free-man, there shall be retaliation in kind, after which his two hands shall be nailed down and the free-man shall be at liberty to enjoy the wife of the slave, but only until retaliation shall have been effected.

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باب، يڠكسمبيلن فد ميڽتاكن حكم مڠمباليكن همب اورڠ
يڠبرچله بارڠسياف منبوسكنديا هڠݢ انم بولن جوݢ لماڽ
دافة دكمباليكن كفد توانڽ ادفون عائب يڠدافت دكمباليكن
ايت سفرة ݢيله اتو بوتا لارڠن اتو ايسق اتو فلاري اتو فنچوري
اتو منجوال توانڽ اتو بوسوڠ داره اتو بونتيڠ ملينكن همب ايت
تبوسن بهارو داتڠ مك هڠݢن يڠدافت دكمباليكن لاݢي مقدر
انق بولن فرنام بولن جوݢ جكلو لالو درفد ايت تياد دافت
دكمباليكن لاݢي ملينكن عائبڽ ايت فد توانڽ يڠبرجوال مك
كمبالي سفرت حكم يڠدهولو ايت.

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Bab yang ka-sambilan pada me-nyata-kan hukum mengambali-kan hamba orang yang ber-chela barang siapa menebus-kan dia hingga anam bulan juga lama-nya dapat di-kambali-kan kapada tuan-nya ada-pun ʻaib yang dapat di-kambali-kan itu seperti gila atau buta larang-an atau isak atau pe-lari atau pen-churi atau men-jual tuan-nya atau busong darah atau bunting me-lain-kan hamba itu tebus-an baharu datang maka hingga-nya yang dapat di-kambali-kan lagi sa-kadar anak bulan pernama bulan juga jikalau lalu deri pada itu tiada dapat di-kambali-kan lagi me-lain-kan ʻaib-nya itu pada tuan-nya yang ber-jual maka kambali seperti hukum yang dahulu itu.

*Chapter the ninth.*—To state the law regarding the return of slaves who have some defect.—In such a case whoever has bought a slave has six months' time within which he may return him to his former master. The defects for which a slave may be sent back are that he is mad, of weak sight, asthmatic, a runaway, a thief, a seller of his master, or one afflicted with an aneurism, and (in the case of a woman) that she is pregnant. The time within which such a slave may be returned is from the new moon to the full moon (of the 6th month), if that time is exceeded the slave cannot be returned, but as long as the defect is the risk of the vendor, the slave is returnable in accordance with the law previously stated.

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باب يڠکسفوله فد مپتاکن سکل اورڠ مردهيک يڠ ممباوا
هوتڠ٢ن اورڠ اتو ساکي اتو بدواند اورڠ اتو همب اورڠ تياد تاو
دڠن فڠهولوڽ اتو توانڽ جکلو بارڠسوات حالڽ ترتڠݢوڠ اتس
اورڠيڠ ممباوا دي يعني اتس ديريڽ اتو اتس ساکيڽ سلاݢي
بلوم کمبالي فد فڠهولوڽ اتو توانڽ ادفون جکلو ممباوا دي سفرة
يڠتله ترسبوت اية جکلو کهولو مسافر القصه يعني هڠݢ فلق
جکلو کلاوت هڠݢ فنر دان بنچه جکلو بارڠسواة احوالڽ تيدقله
ترتڠݢوڠ اتسڽ ادفول سوات قول حکم رسم جکلو تقصير يڠ
ممباوا اية سفرت دلالوين هڠݢ يڠتله ترسبوت اية دڠن متاهو
يڠ ممباوا دي اتو ماتي دڠن کرج يڠدسورهکنڽ مپيله سهرݢاڽ
ملک تراوتام سکالي سکل اورڠ ممباواعبدي اورڠ اية دڠن متاهو
توانڽ ملک هندقله سکل همب اورڠ فرݢي منچاري اية دڠن
افاحص توانڽ جکلو تياد دمکين ترتڠݢوڠ اتس توانڽ ملينکن فرݢين
تية توانڽ ملک تياد دڠن متاهو توانڽ اتو کمدين درفد تفاحص
تيادله ترتڠݢوڠ اتس توانڽ ملينکن اتسڽ جوݢ.

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Bab yang ka-sapuloh pada me-nyata-kan sagala orang mardahika yang mem-bawa hutang-hutang-an orang atau sakei atau biduanda orang atau hamba orang tiada tahu dengan penghulu-nya atau tuan-nya jikalau barang sa-suatu hal-nya ter-tanggong atas orang yang mem-bawa dia yani atas diri-nya atau atas sakei-nya sa-lagi belum kambali pada penghulu-nya atau tuan-nya ada-pun jikalau mem-bawa dia seperti yang telah ter-sebut itu jikalau ka-hulu musafir al-kesah yani hingga *Pelak* jikalau ka-laut hingga *Penara* dan *Benchah* jikalau barang suatu ahwal-nya tidak-lah ter-tanggong atas-nya ada pula suatu kaul hukum resam jikalau taksir yang mem-bawa itu seperti di-lalu-i-nya hingga yang telah ter-sebut itu dengan sa-tahu yang mem-bawa dia atau mati dengan karja yang di-suroh-kan-nya menyilih sa-harga-nya maka ter-utama sakali sagala orang mem-bawa ‘abdi orang itu dengan sa-tahu tuan-nya maka handak-lah sagala hamba orang pergi men-chahari itu dengan tefehus tuan-nya jikalau tiada damikian ter-tanggong atas tuan-nya me-lain-kan pergi-nya itu tiada dengan sa-tahu tuan-nya atau kamdian deri-pada tefehus tuan-nya maka tiada-lah ter-tanggong atas tuan-nya me-lain-kan atas-nya juga.

*Chapter the tenth.*—To declare the law regarding free-men who take (for any purpose) the debtors, *sakei*, *biduanda* or slaves of others without the knowledge of their penghulus or masters.—In such a case should anything happen the responsibility rests with him who takes the slaves, etc. (both upon him personally and upon his companions) until they have been returned to their penghulu or master.

If a slave is taken in the manner above-mentioned and travels into the interior as far as Pelak, or by sea as far as Penara and Benchah, no responsibility is incurred, but according to one version of the customary law, if there is default on the part of him who takes him, as, for instance, if the slave passes the limits above-mentioned with the knowledge of him who takes him, or dies in the performance of some work which he is ordered by the latter to do, his price is recoverable. Wherefor it is above all things incumbent on those who take with them the slaves of others to do so with the consent of their masters. All slaves who go forth to seek a livelihood must be examined by their masters (as to their intentions), if this is not done, the responsibility rests with the master, but if a slave goes forth without the knowledge of the master, or after the master has made such enquiry, the responsibility is no longer on the master but on him.

باب يڠكسبلس فد مڽتاكن حكم سڬل اورڠيڠ مڠهوتڠكن همب اورڠ دڠن تياد ستاهو توانڽ ادفون يڠهمب اورڠ ايت اتس دوابهاڬي سوات همب اورڠ اية اد برفوڽا ملك دافة مڠهوتڠي دي كدوا همب اورڠاية مفليس تياد دافت مڠهوتاڠي دي ملينكن سفها جكلو لبه درفد اية هيلڠله هرتاڽ ادفون كاة كامي اين فد اورڠيڠ مڠهوتڠ سهاج بوكن فداورڠمنياڬ دڠندي جكلو فد حال برنياڬ تياد هاروس دفرهيلڠ هرتاڽ دان تياد ترتڠڬوڠ اتس توانڽ ملك هندقله كامو سكلين مڠهوتڠكن سڬل همب اورڠ اية منيلق فد كلاكوانڽ سفاي جاڠن ترانياي كمدين.

Bab yang ka-sa-belas pada me-niata-kan hukum sagala orang yang meng-hutang-kan hamba orang yang tiada sa-tahu tuan-nya ada-pun yang hamba orang itu atas dua bahagei suatu hamba orang itu ada ber-punya maka dapat meng-hutang-i dia kadua hamba orang itu maflis tiada dapat meng-hutang-i dia me-lain-kan sa-paha jikalau lebih deri-pada itu hilang harta-nya ada-pun kata kami ini pada orang yang meng-hutang sahaja bukan pada orang me-niaga dengan dia jikalau pada hal ber-niaga tiada harus di-per-hilang harta-nya dan tiada ter-tanggong atas tuan-nya maka handak-lah kamu sakalian meng-hutangk-an sagala hamba orang itu menilik pada ka-laku-an-nya sa-paya jangan ter-annyaya kemdain.

*Chapter the eleventh.*—To declare the law regarding such persons as give credit to slaves without the knowledge of their masters.—Now slaves are of two kinds, first, those who have property of their own, to them credit may be given; second those who are paupers, to them no credit may be given beyond the sum of one *paha* ( two dollars ). If credit be given beyond this sum, the creditor loses his property. What we say here applies to persons who simply lend money to slaves, not to persons who trade with them; if it is a matter of commerce, it is not lawful that the vendor shall lose his property. There is no responsibility on the master.

Wherefore all ye who give credit to slaves must carefully note their behaviour so that ye may not suffer loss afterwards.

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باب يغکتيگ بلس فد مپتاکن سکل حکم اورغ مغمبل انق اورغيغ تربواغ اوله ايبوپ ادفون بارغسياڤ مغمبل دي مک هندقله ممبري تاهو توانڽ جکلو سده دغن اذن توانڽ مک هندقله دفرسقسيکنڽ فول ادفون جکلو اد يغ اذن توانڽ ايت اتس دوا بهاگي سواة ملفسکندي سکالي ٢ کدوا مپکاکن فد ممليهرا اکندي ادفون اذن يغ مپکاکن فد ممليهرا ايت، سڤرتيگ هرگ سبهاگي اکن يغ ممليهرا دي دغن ايت کمبالي کفد توانڽ مک دبهاگي انم سبهاگي اکن يغ ممليهرادي ادفون فد قول يغ صح سواتفون تياد دفراوله دغن ايت کمبالي کفد توانڽ کارن اي ملالوي امر راج اية ملبينکن سوکر اي اکن ممبريتاهو توانڽ سفرة تمفتڽ جاوه دان بارغسباگيڤ مک کمبالي کفد حکم يغدهولو اية.

Bab yang ka-tiga-blas pada me-nyata-kan sagala hukum orang meng-ambil anak orang yang ter-buang uleh ibu-nya ada-pun barang siapa meng-ambil dia maka handak-lah mem-bĕri tahu tuan-nya jikalau sudah dengan izin tuan-nya maka handak-lah di-per-saksi-kan-nya ada-pun jikalau ada yang izin tuan-nya itu atas dua bagei suatu melepas-kan dia sakali-kali ka-dua me-niaga-kan pada me-melehra-kan dia ada-pun izin yang me-niaga-kan pada me-melehra itu sa-per-tiga harga sa-bahagi akan yang me-melehra dia dengan itu kambali kapada tuan-nya maka di-bahagi anam sa-bahagi akan yang me-melehra dia ada-pun pada kaul yang sah suatu pun tiada di-per-uleh dengan itu dengan kambali kapada tuan-nya karana iya me-lalu-i amar raja itu me-lain-kan sukar iya akan mem-bĕri tahu tuan-nya seperti tampat-nya jauh dan barang sa-bagei-nya maka kambali kapada hukum yang dahulu itu.

*Chapter the thirteenth.*—To declare the law regarding persons who take the children of others abandoned by their parents.—Whoever takes a child (so abandoned) must inform his (the child's) master, and if he obtains the permission of the latter, must call together witnesses to testify to it. The permission of the master may be given in two ways, either he may emancipate the child altogether, or; secondly, he may make a bargain for his bringing up, in which case the charge is one-third of the (child's) value which is awarded to him who brings him up. If, however, the child returns to his master (who is in ignorance of his having been brought up by another), one-sixth of his value is awarded to him who brought him up. But according to a generally received opinion nothing whatever is to be received in such a case by the latter, for he has departed from the command of the Raja (in not notifying to the master the finding of the child). If, however, it is difficult to inform the master (at the time that the child is taken), on account, for instance, of distance, or some other reason, the rule first laid down may be followed.

باب يڠکاءمڤة بلس ڤد مڽتاکن سڬل حکم اورڠيڠ مڠوڤه همب اورڠ دڠن تياد مڠتاهو توانڽ ادفون جکلو همب اورڠ ايت مشهور اي مڠمبل اوفهن اتويڠ ممبري حاصل اکن توانڽ اتو ميواڽ جکلوماتي اتو بارڠسوات حال احوالڽ اي تياد مپيله اورڠيڠ مڠمبيل اوفهن ايت جکلو تياد سفرت شرط ايت مپيله حال دان مپيله مهرڬاڽ ادفون فنجمن کفد توانڽ سفرة کايو دان بارڠسباڬيڽ

جکلو بارڠ سوات احوالڽ همب اورڠ ايت مڽيله اي ادفون فد
سواة قول حکم رسم مڽيله اية دڠن هرگڽ جوگ کارن فکرجاءن
ايت دڠن سبله اذن توانڽ ادفون جکلو اد دفنجمڽ اية تياد
ترخص دڠن سوات فکرجاءن جکلو بارڠسوات احوالڽ مڽيله
ملينکن ماتيڽ ايت دڠن مسوات دڠن حکم الله تعالي لاين درفد
ايت سفرت دتڠکف هريمو اتو دفاتوء اولر اتو بارڠسباگيڽ درفد
سگل کماتينڽ يڠ ماتي جاته اتو دڠن اقرال توانڽ جکلو بارڠ
سوات احوالڽ فون بيرله مک تياداله اي مڽيله ملينکن تقصير
اتس يڠ ممنجم فد ممليهرا دي اتو دڠن کرج يڠلاين درفد اذن
توانڽ جکلو بارڠ سوات احوالڽ مڽيله اي دمکينلاگي کهندقڽ
سگل بناتڠ يڠبرڤاوا ادفون حکم اين برسلاهن دڠن حکم ممنجم
سگل هرت سفرة سنجات دان سگل فرکاکس فرهياسن تتافي
فد کيرا٢ هرگڽ جک ترباکر اتو کارم دان بارڠسباگيڽ مڽيله اي
سنتڠه دڠن هرگاڽ ايتفون جکلو لفس نام تقصير درفداڽ جکلو
بارڠسوات احوالڽ مڽيله اي ملينکن دڠن اقرال توانڽ کفد سگل
کبنساءن مک تياداله اي مڽيله.

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Bab yang ka-ampat-belas pada me-nyata-kan sagala hukum orang yang meng-upah hamba orang yang tiada sa-tahu tuan-nya ada-pun jikalau hamba orang itu mashur iya meng-ambil upah-an atau yang mem-beri hasil akan tuan-nya atau sewa-nya jikalau mati atau barang suatu hal ahwal-nya iya tiada menyilih orang yang meng-ambil upah-an itu jikalau tiada seperti sharat itu menyilih hal dan menyilih sa-harga-nya ada-pun pinjam-an kapada tuan-nya seperti kayu dan barang sabagei-nya jikalau barang suatu ahwal-nya hamba orang itu menyilih iya ada-pun pada suatu kaul hukum resam menyilih itu dengan harga-nya juga karana pe-karja-an itu dengan sabĕlah izin tuan-nya ada-pun jikalau ada di-pinjam-nya itu tiada ter-khas dengan suatu pe-karja-an jikalau barang suatu ahwal-nya iya menyilih me-lain-kan mati-nya itu dengan sa-suatu dengan hukum Allah Taala lain deri-pada itu seperti di-tangkap harimau atau di-patok ular dan barang sa-bagei-nya deri-pada sagala ka-mati-an-nya yang mati jatoh atau dengan ikral tuan-nya jikalau barang suatu ahwal-nya pun biar-lah maka tiada-lah iya menyilih me-lain-kan taksir atas yang me-minjam pada memelehra dia atau dengan karja yang lain deri-pada izin tuan-nya jikalau barang suatu ahwal-nya menyilih iya damikian lagi handak-nya sagala benatan gyang ber-niawa ada-pun hukum ini ber-salah-an dengan hukum meminjam sagala harta seperti senjata dan sagala per-kakas per-hias-an tetapi pada kira-kira harga-nya jika ter-bakar atau karam dan barang sa-bagei-nya menyilih iya sa-tengah dengan harga-nya itu pun jikalau lepas nama taksir deri-pada-nya jikalau barang suatu ahwal-nya menyilih iya me-lain-kan dengan ikral tuan-nya kapada sagala ka-benasa-an maka tiada-lah iya menyilih.

*Chapter the fourteenth.*—To declare the law regarding those who hire the slaves of others without the knowledge of their master. —If it is a matter of general notoriety that the slave is in receipt of hire or if he pays his earnings to his master or a rate in lieu of his services, then, should the slave die in such service, or should anything befall him, the person who hires him is not responsible for his value. But if the conditions are not as laid down here, there must be restitution of the full value.

The loan of a slave from his master is like the borrowing of a stick or anything else; should anything happen to him, there must be compensation. According to one rule of the customary law, the compensation shall be the price of thé slave, for the work he was put to do was beyond the knowledge of his master.

If the slave is borrowed withuot any stipulation as to the particular work he is to do, and anything happens to him, the borrower must make compensation, but it is otherwise if the slave dies by the

visitation of God most high (as, for instance, if he is carried off by a tiger or is bitten by a snake or meets his death by any kind of fall etc.), or if there is an acknowledgment by his master (that he will be responsible for all accidents), then, should anything happen to him, there is nothing to be done, and the borrower makes no compensation, but he is bound to take care of the slave (if he is only injured) until his recovery. But if the injury is received during work different from that which was authorised by the master, and anything happens, the borrower must make good the loss. The same rule holds good of living animal, but it differs from the law regarding the loan of (inanimate) property such as weapons, utensils, ornaments, etc. These are to be paid for according to their calculated value, and if burnt or sunk or otherwise destroyed, the borrower must pay half of the value, even although no blame attaches to him for negligence. But if there is an acknowledgment on the part of the owner that he will be responsible for all loss, the borrower need not compensate.

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باب يڠكليم بلس فد مڽتاكن حكم سگل اورڠ منارة همب
اورڠ لاري ادفون بارڠسياف ديم دهوتن فادڠ استميوا دنگري
جكلو اد اورڠلاري داتڠ كفداڽ هندقله دباواڽ فد حكيم جكلو
تياد دمكين دحكمكن اي جك لاكي٢ دق فهون فڠكل تليڠاڽ
جك فرمفوان دچوكر لاكي دمانو جكلو ماتي اتو لاري همب اورڠ
ايت مڠيكوة هرگاڽ لاگي اكن كيرا٢ ايسي بواهڽ سلملما٢ نديم
كفداڽ ادفون فد سوات قول حكم رسم جك اي مردهيك
سهڠگ دتعزيركن جوگ ملك اينله كامي سبوتكن عادت تبوس
سگل همب اورڠ يڠلاري ايت جكلو ددالم كوة هڠگ عمرت
نگري دوا كوفڠ دان تياد جادي رمفاسن سگل فمباوا كنت
ادفون دلوار عمرت سفرت دهيلر كنچڠ دان كهولو سوڠي
لينتڠ تيگ كوفڠ تبوس دان بارڠ فمباواكنڽ سفرة فيسو فارڠ

دان سگل بند يڠترکورڠ هرگاپ جادي رمفاسن بارڠيڠ لاين درفد
اية کمبالي کفد توانڽ ادفون کوالاکهيلير سامس هڠگ تروسن انم
کوفڠ هڠگ بنچه کورڠ سکوفڠ دوا امس هڠگ بيردوا امس هڠگ
مرچڠ تيگ امس هڠگ رمفاسن سفها هڠگ فنتين ليم
امس هڠگ اندو تيڠ بله هڠگ مرسڠ دوا امس هڠگ
سيدلي تڠه تاهيل ادفون کسبله کوالا فهڠ توا سامس هڠگ
فنر انم کوفڠ هڠگ کلنتن دوا امس کرماسن سفه هڠگ فکاليم
امس هڠگ دوڠون تيڠ بله رنتو بڠ توجه امس هڠگ ترڠگانو
تڠه تاهيل ادفون کهولو سوڠي هڠگ کتبيڠ ساٴمس هڠگ
فنتلك ليم کوفڠ هڠگ مالڠ انم کوفڠ هڠگ لوبوٴ فکا کورڠ
سکوفڠ دوا امس هڠگ کوالا جمفل دوا امس هڠگ مڠالڠ
دوا امس سکوفڠ هڠگ کوالا برتيگ امس هڠگ کوالا تريڠ
کورڠ دوا کوفڠ سفه هڠگ سمنتن سفه هڠگ فاسير مندي تڠه
ليم امس هڠگ لوبوٴ فلڠ ليم امس هڠگ تمباڠن تيڠ بله
هڠگ جاگ کورڠ دواکوفڠ توجه امس (هڠگ کوالا توجه امس)
هڠگ سلڠ سيڠ تڠه تاهيل ددالم تمبلڠ تڠه تاهيل جکلو لفس
درفد اية سفردوا هرگ تبوسن تتافي فد سوات خيار حکم رسم
کتاپ سفردوا هرگاپ اية دڠن هرگ تبوسن جوگ دمکينلاگي
سگال هوجڠ کارڠ يڠدلاوة فون جکلو لفس درفد سديل دان ترڠگانو
ادفون يڠکامي سبوتکن جکلو کهولو لفس درکچيڠ دان کهيلر
لفس درفد سوڠي لينتڠ ايت بارڠ اد فمباواکنپ سفوله امس
مندافت دي.

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Bab yang ka-lima-bĕlas pada me-nyata-kan hukum sagala orang menaroh hamba orang lari ada-pun barang siapa diam di-hutan padang istemiwa dinegri jikalau ada orang lari datang kapada-nya handak-lah di-bawa-nya pada hakim jikalau tiada damikian dihukum-kan iya jika laki-laki di-dedah pohon telinga-nya jika perampuan di-chukor lagi di-manau jikalau mati atau lari hamba orang itu mengikut harga-nya lagi akan kira-kira isi buat-nya sa-lama-lama diam kapada-nya ada-pun pada suatu kaul hukum resam jika iya mardahika sahingga di-ta‘zir-kan juga maka ini-lah kami sebut-kan ‘adat tebus sagala hamba orang yang lari itu jikalau di-dalam kota hingga ‘amarat negri dua kupang dan tiada jadi rampas-an sagala tembawa-kan-nya ada-pun di-luar ‘amarat seperti di-hilir *Kanchong* dan ka-hulu *Sungei Lentang* tiga kupang tebus dan barang pem-bawa-kan-nya seperti pisau parang dan sagala benda yang ter-korang harga-nya jadi rampas-an barang yang lain deri-pada itu kambali kapada tuan-nya ada-pun ka-hilir *Kwala* sa-amas hingga *Trusan* anam kupang hingga *Benchah* korang sa-kupang dua mas hingga *Bĕrá* dua mas hingga *Merching* tiga mas sa-hingga *Rampasan* sa-paha hingga *Puntian* lima mas hingga *Endau* tiang blah hingga *Mersing* dua mas hingga *Sedili* tengah tahil adapun ka-sablah *Kwala Pahang Tuah* sa-amas hingga *Panara* anam kupang hingga *Kuantan* dua mas, *Keramasan* sa-paha hingga *Paka* lima mas hingga *Dungun* tiang blah, *Rantau Abang* tujoh mas hingga *Trengganu* tengah tahil ada-pun ka-hulu sungei hingga ka-*Tebing* sa-amas hingga *Intik* lima kupang hingga *Salang* anam kupang hingga *Lubok Paka* korang sa-kupang dua-mas, hingga *Kwala Jempul* dua amas, hingga *Mengalang* dua mas, sa-kupang, hingga *Kwala Bĕrá* tiga mas, hingga *Kwala Triang* korang dua kupang sa-paha, hingga *Samantan* sa-paha, hingga *Pasir Mandi* tengah lima amas, hingga *Lubok Pĕlang* lima amas hingga *Tambangan* tiang blah, hingga *Jaga* korang dua kupang tujoh amas, hingga *Selengsing* tengah tahil, didalam *Tembeling* tengah tahil, jikalau lepas deri-pada itu sa-per-dua harga tebus-nia tetapi pada kaul hukum suatu khiar hukum resam kata-nia sa-per-dua harga-nia itu dengan harga tebus-an juga damikian lagi sagala hujong karang yang di-laut pun jikalau lepas deri-pada *Sedili* dan *Trengganu* ada-pun yang kami sebut-kan jikalau ka-hulu lepas deri *Kanchong* dan ka-hilir lepas deri-pada *Sungei Lentang* itu barang ada pem-bawa-kan-nia sapuloh asa mendapat dia

*Chapter the fifteenth.*—To declare the law regarding persons who harbour runaway slaves.—Whosoever lives in the forest or in the country, or, *a fortiori*, in a town must, if any runaway slave comes to him take him at once to the judge; any one who fails to do so shall be punished, if a male, by having his ears filipped (with *rotan séga*), and, if a woman, she shall have her head shaved and then be beaten with *rotan manau.* If the slave dies or escapes, the owner may sue the harbourer for his value and also for the calculated value of his work during the period that he was so harboured. According to one version of the customary law, he (the person harbouring the slave) may also be punished with stripes, even though he be a freeman.

We now proceed to state the customary law regarding the redemption of (recaptured) slaves who have run away. If the slave escapes from within the fort and is recaptured within the limits of the town the reward is two *kupang* and the property which he takes with him may not be seized by the captor. Beyond the limits of the town (Pahang), that is to say, *Kanchong* down-stream and *Sungei Lentang* up-stream, the reward is 3 *kupang* and all that he carries with him such as knives, choppers and all small articles of trifling value may be seized and retained by the captor.

Everything else must be restored to the master.

*Down the Pahang river.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| As far as | *Kwala,* | 1 mas * |
| | *Trusan,* | 6 kupang |
| ,, ,, | *Benchah,* | 2 mas, less 1 kupang. |
| ,, ,, | *Běrá,* | 2 ,, |
| ,, ,, | *Merěchang,* | 3 ,, |
| ,, ,, | *Rampasan,* | 1 paha |
| ,, ,, | *Panteian,* | 5 mas |
| ,, ,, | *Endau,* | half a *bungkal* |
| ,, ,, | *Mersang,* | 2 mas |
| ,, ,, | *Sidili,* | half a tahil |

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* 1 *amas*=1 *mayam.* A Pahang *kupang* was 12½ cents, there being only 80 cents to a dollar.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Towards | *Kwala Pahang Tuah,* | ... 1 mas | |
| As far as | *Penara,* ... | ... 6 kupang | |
| ,, ,, | *Kuantan* ... | ... 2 mas | |
| ,, ,, | *Karamasan,* | ... 1 paha | in Trengganu. |
| ,, ,, | *Paka,* ... | ... 5 mas | |
| ,, ,, | *Dungun,* ... | half a *bungkal.* | |
| ,, ,, | *Rantau Abang,* | ... 7 mas | |
| ,, ,, | *Trengganu,* | ... half a tahil | |
| Going up stream; as far as | *Tabing,* | ... 1 mas | |
| ,, ,, ,, | *Intik,* | ... 5 kupang | |
| ,, ,, ,, | *Salang,* | ... 6 ,, | |
| ,, ,, ,, | *Lubok Paka,* ... | 2 mas, less 1 kupang | |
| ,, ,, ,, | *Kwala Jempul,* | 2 mas | |
| ,, ,, ,, | *Mengalang,* ... | 2 mas | |
| ,, ,, ,, | *Kwala Bĕrá,* ... | 3 mas | |
| ,, ,, ,, | *Kwala Triang,* | paha, less 2 kupang | |
| ,, ,, ,, | *Samantan,* up the Kerdan river, | 1 paha | |
| ,, ,, ,, | *Pasir Mandi,* ... | 4½ mas | |
| ,, ,, ,, | *Lubok Pelang,* | 5 mas | |
| ,, ,, ,, | *Tambangan,* ... | half a *bungkal.* | |
| Going up stream; as far as | *Jaga,* | ... 7 mas, less 2 kupang | |
| ,, ,, ,, | *Kwala,* | ... 7 mas | |
| ,, ,, ,, | *Selengsing,* | ... ½ a tahil | |
| ,, within | *Tembeling,* | ... ½ a tahil. | |

If the slave escapes *beyond this* the sum to be paid for his recovery is one-half of his value; but according to the best opinion the customary law awards to the captor the price of redemption as well as half the value of the slave. This applies to all the reefs and rocks in the sea if the slave gets beyond *Sedili* and *Trengganu.*

We also lay down that if the slave gets beyond *Kanchong*, upstream, or beyond *Sungei Lentang*, downstream, the captor is entitled to one-tenth of whatever property the slave carries with him.

باب يڠكاءنم بلس فد مپتاکن حکم سڬل اورڠيڠ برجوال
دڠن اورڠ درفد سأورڠ کفد سأورڠ کمدين جکلو برتمو دڠن توانڽ
جك برکهندق توانڽ اکندي دتبوس سفنبوس توانڽ يڠ بهارو
ايت تياد دافت دفرهيلڠ هرت اورڠيڠ منبوس ايت ملينکن
دڠن توانڽ اتس يڠبرجوال فرتام اية جوڬ دافت حاصلڽ

Bab yang ka-anam bĕlas pada menyata-kan hukum sagala orang yang ber-jual dengan orang deri-pada sa'-orang kapada sa'-orang kemdian jikalau ber-temu dengan tuan-nia jika ber-kahandak tuan-nya akan dia di-tebus sa-penebus tuan-nya yang baharu itu tiada dapat di-per-hilang harta orang yang menebus itu melainkan dengan tuan-nya atas yang ber-jual pertama itu juga dapat hasil-nya.

*Chapter the sixteenth.*—To declare the law regarding any person who sells the slave of another so that he is sold and resold from one to another. If he should be discovered by his rightful owner the latter must, if he wants to take him back, pay the full sum for which he was bought by the last vendee. It is not lawful that the purchaser should be a loser, but the person who originally sold the slave is the person to be called to account.

* * * * *

باب يڠکسمبيلن بلس فد مپتاکن فري کلبهن عيال راج٢
درفد عيال کامو ادفون بارڠسياف ممالوهمب راج لالو ماتي جکلو
مردهيکا ماسق اولورفد راج٢ جکلو عبدي فڠڬل کوجوة ليهرڤ جکلو
دڠن مڠتاهو توانڽ ددندا سکتي ليمهندقله کامو سکلين جاڠن ملاون
سڬل همب راج جکلو کليمان سکاليفون ادفون يڠ ضعيف فد حکم

رسم جكلو همب اية ساڠت مسخرڽ اكندي سفرة اتس كبتينن
يڠتياد دافت دصبركنڽ اتو تياد دافة اي برلفس ديريڽ درفد
تاڠنڽ جكلو اد سفرت شرط اين مك دافتله اي منداتڠكن كفد
همب راج ايت اتو بارڠ سالهڽ بري تاهو كفد حكيم اتو كفد
ڤڠهولو راج مڠحكمكندي.

Bab yang ka-sambilan-bělas pada me-nyata-kan pri ka-lebih-an ‘iyal raja-raja deri-pada ‘iyal kamu ada-pun barang siapa memalu hamba raja lalu mati jikalau mardahika masok ulur pada raja-raja jikalau ‘abdi panggal kujut leher-nya jikalau dengan sa-tahu tuan-nya di-denda sa-kati lima handak-lah kamu sakalian jangan me-lawan sagala hamba raja jikalau ka-limana sakali-pun ada-pun yang dhaif pada hukum resam jikalau hamba itu sangat meskhar-nia akan dia seperti atas ka-betina-an yang tiada dapat di-sabar-kan-nya atau tiada dapat iya ber-lepas diri-nya deri-pada tangan-nya jikalau ada seperti sharat ini maka dapat-lah iya men-datang-kan kapada hamba raja itu atau barang salah-nya běri tahu kapada hakim atau kapada penghulu raja meng-hukum-kan dia.

*Chapter the nineteenth.*—To declare the greater consideration to be given to the households of Rajas than to those of ye all.—If any one strikes the slave of a Raja, so that he dies, the offender if a freeman must surrender himself as a hostage to a Raja and if a slave he shall be strangled and beheaded; and if the act of the slave is committed with the knowledge of his master the latter shall be fined a *kati* and five *tahils* of silver. Wherefore none of ye must resist the slave of a Raja on any occasion whatsoever. This rule may be modified if the slave is very insulting, as for instance, towards females, so that the opponent cannot restrain himself any longer or cannot get away from him. In such a case the Raja's slave may be forcibly taken, or his offence may be reported to the judge or to the Raja's *penghulu* who should punish him.

باب يڠكدوافولهساتو   فد مپتاكن حكم سڬل اورڠيڠ برجوال
فرهياسن راج اتو ساكي راج اتو بودق ٢ راج جك اورڠيڠ برتنتو
سفولڠ توجه حكمن لاڬي دكتائي دهدافن مجليس جكلو همب
راج دڬنتي سفولڠ توجه دسوره نستا فد ساكيپ جكلو اورڠيڠ
برتنتو سهڠڬ سموسيم لماپ جكلو همب راج سهڠڬ ستاهن
لماڽ ادفون جكلو لالو درفد ايت داتڠله مال اكندي سفرت يڠ
تله ترسبوت ايت.

Bab yang ka-dua-puloh-satu pada me-nyata-kan hukum sagala orang yang ber-jual per-hias-an raja atau sakei raja atau budak-budak raja jikalau orang yang ber-tuntu sa-pulang-tujoh hukum-nya lagi di-kata-i di-hadap-an majlis jikalau hamba raja di-ganti-nya sa-pulang-tujoh di-suroh nista pada sakei-nya jikalau orang yang ber-tuntu sa-hingga sa-musim lama-nia jikalau hamba raja sa-hingga sa-tahun lama-nya ada-pun jikalau lalu deri-pada itu datang-lah hal akan dia seperti yang telah ter-sebut itu.

*Chapter the twenty first.*—To declare the law relating to persons who sell royal trappings or the Sakeis or slaves of the Raja. If this is done by a person of consideration he shall be ordered to restore seven fold and shall be publicly rebuked; if the offender be a royal slave he shall restore seven fold and shall be disgraced by the reviling of his companions. The former may be openly reviled, as above, for one season (until after the next harvest) and the latter for a whole year.

باب يڠ كدوا فوله ليم فري حكم مڠمبليكن بندا يڠدبلي
سبب عائيبڽ افبيل ممبلي مات بندا كليهاتن اتس بندا ايت
عائيب يڠ سديا ملك دكمبليكنڽ جك لمبت مڠمباليكن افبيل
دليهت دكمبليكنڽ افبيل بندا ايت دكمبليكن سڬل يڠتاهڽ
فرچريڽ سفرت تاهو منوج منيرت مڠيكوت تياد هاروس دفنتاڽ
اوله توانڽ يڠ منبوس اوليه اكو مڠاجر دي ماريكن اكو حقڽ
جك همب فرمڤوان دتبوسڽ بونتيڠ فد يڠ منبوس برانق انقڽ
ايت اكن اورڠ منبوس تياد دكمبالي دڠن ايبوڽ ,, برمول براف
فركارا عائيب يڠ هاروس دكمبليكن فرتام دفلاري ادن فرموكه
دان فنچوري دان ڬيلا دان بوسڠ دان بوروت دان بوتا لاراڠن
دان تولي دان سوفق دان كالو اتو همب ايت برسوامي اتو
عائيب يڠتربوڽي ,, كمدين كليهاتن براف لاماڽ فون دافت
دكمبليكن

Bab yang ka-dua-puloh-lima, pri hukum mengambali-kan benda yang di-beli sebab 'aib-nya apa-bila mem-beli mata benda ka-lihat-an atas benda itu 'aib yang sedia maka di-kambali-kan-nya jika lambat mengambali-kan apa-bila di-lihat di-kambali-kan-nya apa-bila benda itu di-kambali-kan sagala yang tahu-nya di-per-cherei-nya seperti tahu menuju menierta mengikut tiada harus di-pinta-nya uleh tuan-nya yang menebus uleh aku mengajar dia mari-kan aku hak-nya jika hamba perampuan di-tebus-nya bunting pada yang menebus ber-anak anak-nya itu akan orang menebus tiada kambali dengan ibu-nia bermula ber-apa perkara 'aib yang harus di-kambali-kan pertama pelari dan per-muka dan penchuri dan gila dan busong dan burut dan buta larangan dan tuli dan sopak dan kelu atau hamba itu berswami atau 'aib yang ter-sembunyi kemdian ka-lihat-an ber-apa lanya-pun dapat di-kambali-kan.

*Chapter the twenty fifth.** To declare the law relating to the rejection of property which has been purchased, on account of some defect. When on the delivery of an article the purchaser discovers in it a defect of long standing he can return it. If the defect is not discovered at once the property may be returned to the vendor whenever it is discovered, but this does not apply to a purchaser who knowing of the defect has been trying in his turn to disguise it and to sell the property. If a female slave is pregnant at the time of purchase and gives birth to a child while she is in the possession of her new owner, the child remains the property of the latter and is not sent back with the mother. There are a number of defects for which a slave may be rejected. Habitual runaways, prostitutes, thieves, lunatics and persons afflicted with aneurism, hernia, partial blindness, deafness, the skin disease called *sopak*, or dumbness, and female slaves who have husbands, may be rejected and so may those who have some hidden defect at whatever time the latter may be discovered.

باب يڠكاءمڤة ڤوله دوا ڤري حكم منداڤة اورڠدري
بارڠسياڤ منداڤتدي مسکين اوڤهن اکو بري بارڠسياڤ منداڤة
دي بتاڤ جنجين دبري جك کتاڤ جك سي سيد منداڤة تيڬ
تمڤڠ کوبري جك سي عمر منداڤتدي انم تمڤڠ کوبري جك سي
احمد منداڤتدي سمبيلن تمڤڠ کوبري جك ماله مأورڠ منداڤة
دي بتاڤ جنجين دبري جك کتيڬاڤ منداڤتدي مام٢ بهاڬي
تيڬ يڠ جنجين ايت سبهاڬي دسورهن بري جك بارڠسياڤ
منداڤتدي تياد دڠن جنجي بتاڤ عادت نڬري دسوره بري.

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* Compare section 9 on p. 14 *supra*. It seems to be the Pahang law, while this section is the Perak law.

Bab yang ka-ampat puloh dua pri hukum mendapat orang lari barang siapa mendapat iya sakian upah-nya aku beri barang siapa mendapat dia betapa janji di-beri-nya jika kata-nya jika Si-Zeid mendapat tiga tampang aku beri jika Si-Omar mendapat dia anam tampang ku-bĕri jika Si-Ahamad mendapat dia sambilan tampang aku bĕri jika salah sa'orang mendapat dia betapa janji-nya di-bĕri jika ka-tiga-nya mendapat dia sama-sama bahagi tiga yang janji-nya itu sa-bahagi disuroh-nya bĕri jika barang siapa mendapat dia tiada dengan janji betapa 'adat negri di suroh bĕri.

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*Chapter the forty-second.*—To state the law about the finding of runaway slaves.—Suppose the owner says, "If any one finds my slave who has runaway I will give so much as his reward" he must give the sum promised to the person by whom the slave is found. If he says "If Si Zeid finds him I will give him 3 *tampang*, if Si Omar finds him I will give him 6 *tampang* and if Si Ahamad finds him I will give him 9 *tampang*," he must give as much as he promises to that one of the three who may find the slave. If they all three find him together, the sum of the amounts promised must be divided by three and one third must be paid by the owner. If the slave is found by a person who has no promise of a reward, the owner must be ordered to reward him according to the custom of the country.

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باب يڠكاءنم فوله دوا فد مپتاكن فري سڬل حكم اورڠ برهوتڠ منورنكن هوتڠن ماتي فد فيكرانن امفوپ امس تياد هاروس دتمبهكن ملينكن دبهاڬي تيڬ مبهاڬي استرين ممباير برمول سڬل اورڠبرهوتڠ انق استرين تياد دفرنكالي هيلڠ هرتان كارن اورڠ مردهيك برمول بارڠ بند يڠ هيلڠ دمبلهن برمول

سڬل همب اورڠلاري دري بنوا سوات كبنوا سوات هرڬاڽ دوا راتس اكن اورڠ مندافت برمول سڬل اورڠ لاري بنوا كفد بنوا لاين سفرت اورڠ لاري كبنوا اين دمكينله دانڬرهكن اورڠ ايت يڠ مندافة برمول سڬل اورڠ مردهيك مڠمبل همب راج جادي همب راج حكمڽ ادفون جك همب اورڠ مڠمبل همب راج حكمڽ دفالو سراتس برمول بارڠسياف ممالو همباڽ لالو ماتي ساله فد راج برمول بارڠسياف ممالو همب راج جك تياد دڠن سالهڽ فد بومي ساله سكاليفون تڠكف باوا فد اورڠ ممڬڠدي باڬي مريك٢ باڬي ساله٢ حكم اين راج٢ مڠحكمكن.

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Bab yang ka-anam puloh dua pada menyata-kan pri sagala hukum orang ber-hutang menurut-kan hutang-nya mati pada pe-karja-an-nya ampunya amas tiada harus di-tembah-kan melainkan di-bahagi tiga sa-bahagi istri-nya membayar ber-mula sagala orang ber-hutang anak istri-nya tiada harus di-per-nakal-nakal hilang harta-nya karana orang mardahika, ber-mula barang benda yang hilang di-silih-nya ber-mula sagala hamba orang di-jual orang barangkali ber-temu dengan tuan-nya di-tebus sa-harga-nya ber-mula sagala hamba orang lari deri benua suatu ka-benua suatu harga-nya dua ratus akan orang mendapat ber-mula sagala orang lari deri benua kapada benua lain seperti orang lari ka-benua ini damikian-lah anugrah-kan akan orang itu yang mendapat ber-mula sagala orang mardahika meng-ambil hamba raja jadi hamba raja hukum-nya jika hamba orang meng-ambil hamba raja hukum-nya di-palu saratus ber-mula barang siapa memalu hamba-nya lalu mati salah pada raja ber-mula barang siapa memalu hamba raja jika tiada dengan salah-nya salah pada bumi salah sakali-pun tangkap bawa pada orang memegang dia bagei marika-marika bagei salah-salah hukum ini raja-raja menghukum-kan.

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*Chapter the sixty second.*—To declare the law regarding debtors who give themselves in security for their debts and die in the performance of their service.—In such a case it is not lawful for the creditor to claim the debt (from the family of the deceased), but it must be divided into three, and the wife (of the debtor) must pay one third (the other two thirds being lost ?). Further, in the case of any debtor, it is not lawful to vex his wife and children to the loss of their property, for they are free citizens (*mardahika*) and any property of their's that is lost (through such oppression) must be made good.

If the slave of one man be (wrongfully) sold by another and afterwards falls in with his real owner, the latter has a right to take him on paying his price.

If a slave flies from one country to another, the person who finds him shall be entitled to two hundred (*bidor* ?).

So also, if any one runs from one country to another, as for instance if foreigners run to this country, the same reward shall be bestowed on him who finds him.

Any free-man who takes away one of the Raja's slaves *(hamba raja)* shall himself be made a slave to the Raja.

If a slave takes away a *hamba raja* he shall be punished with one hundred blows.

Whoever beats his slave so that he dies is guilty of an offence against the Raja.

Whoever strikes a *hamba raja* who is not in fault is guilty towards the earth (*i. e.*, forfeits his life). Even if the *hamba raja* be in fault let him (not be struck, but) be taken to the person who has charge of him ; there are many kinds of men and many kinds of offences. This offence only Rajas may punish.

باب يڠكاءنم فوله تيݢ فد مپتاكن برمول جك همب دچوري اورڠ جك ددافة اورڠ جك همب راج سفولڠ دوا كالي توجه دان جك انق راج٢ سكالي توجه اكو همب منتري سفولڠ ليم اكن سيد٢ سفولڠ تيݢ برمول بهلا سفولڠ دوا جك مفلس دبونه.

Bab yang ka-anam puloh tiga pada menyata-kan ber-mula jika hamba di-churi orang jika di-dapat orang jika hamba raja sa-pulang-dua-kali-tujoh dan jika anak raja-raja sakali tujoh atau hamba mantri sa-pulang-lima akan saiyid-saiyid sa-pulang-tiga ber-mula bala sa-pulang-dua maflis di-bunoh.

*Chapter the sixty-third*.—To declare as follows:—If a slave be stolen by a person and he be discovered, the thief shall restore, in the case of the slave of a Raja, fourteen-fold, and, if the owner be the son of a Raja, seven-fold; if a Mantri, five-fold; if a Sayyid, three-fold; if a common person, two-fold; if the thief be too poor to pay he may be killed.

باب يڠكاءنم فوله امفت برمول فد مپتاكن فري منبوس همب اورڠ لاري جك دالم كوت ستمفڠ برمول سڬل اورڠ مندافة اورڠلاري هندقله دباوا كجمباتن تيݢ هاري دمقسيكنپ فد دمڠ خوج احمد اتو كبالي دمقسيكنپ فد منتري جك تياد دمكين ماله برمول جك اورڠلاري اتو ماتي مپيله برمول سڬل اورڠ داتڠ كفدان همب اورڠ اتو اورڠ منڠڬل هندقله دباواپ فد منتري دملسيكن جك تياد دمكين سفرة منچوري برمول سڬل اورڠ مندافة امس فيرق بارڠسوات بند ددافتن هندقله دباوان

كجمباتن تيگ هاري دمقسيكنپ جك تياد امفوپ هرت ايت
دباوان فد منتري دان فد سگل اورڠبكرج راج دمكين تياد ساله
اورڠ ايت جك تياد دمكين كمدين كتهوان دنداپ سفرت اورڠ
منچوري برمول سگل فراهو دايوڠ ڤڠاپوه كاجڠ هاپوت جاڠن
دكافر جك دكافر جك تياد دباوا كجمباتن تيگ هاري جك
تياد دمكين ساله برمول جك همب اورڠ ترفالو اوله مولتپ
چندا لالو ماتي دنداپ سهرگاپ جوگ برمول جك اورڠ
مردهيك ممبونه همب اورڠ تياد قصاص ملينكن سهرگاپ جوگ

Bab yang ka-anam puloh ampat pri menyata-kan pri menebus hamba orang lari jika di-dalam kota sa-tampang ber-mula sagala orang mendapat orang lari handak-lah di-bawa-nya ka-jambatan tiga hari di-saksi-kan-nya pada Demang Khoja Ahamad atau ka-balei di-saksi-kan-nya pada mantri jika tiada damikian salah ber-mula jika orang itu lari atau mati menyilih ber-mula sagala orang datang ka-pada-nya hamba orang atau orang meninggal handak-lah di-bawa-nya pada mantri di-saksi-kan-nya jika tiada damikian seperti men-churi ber-mula sagala orang mendapat mas seperti kain barang suatu benda di-dapat-nya handak-lah di-bawa-nya ka-jambatan tiga hari di-saksi-kan-nya jika tiada ampunya harta itu di-bawa-nya pada mantri dan sagala orang ber-karja Raja damikian tiada-lah salah orang itu jika tiada damikian kemdian ka-tula-an benda-nya seperti orang men-churi ber-mula sagala prahu dayong pengayuh kajang hanyut jangan di-kapar jika di-kapar jika tiada di-bawa ka jambatan tiga hari jika tiada damikian salah, ber-mula jika hamba orang ber-palu uleh mulut-nya chandal lalu mati denda-nya sa harga-nia juga. Ber-mula jikalau orang mardahika mem-bunoh hamba orang tiada di-kassas-kan melainkan sa-harga-nya juga.

*Chapter the sixty-fourth.*—To declare the law regarding the commission payable for the restoration of runaway slaves.—If the slave

be caught within the *kota* (the Raja's premises or grounds) the payment is one *tampang*. Every one who discovers a runaway slave must take him to the landing-place for three days and there exhibit him to Demang Khoja Ahamad, or else to the *balei* and produce him before the *Mantri*. If he omits to do this, he commits an offence and, if the slave makes his escape or dies, he must make good his value. All persons taking refuge with another, such as slaves or deserters must be taken to the *Mantri* and exhibited before him; if this is not done, the case is like one of theft.

So, any person who finds any gold or silver article or any article of clothing or anything else must take it to the landing-place and exhibit it there for three days and if the owner does not come forward it must be taken to the *Mantri* or the officer appointed by the Raja. If this be done no fault lies with the finder, but if it be not done and this be found out subsequently, the finder may be fined in the same manner as a thief.

Again, in the case of boats, oars, paddles, mat-awnings, etc. found floating, these must not be flung aside carelessly. If they are treated in this way and are not taken to the landing-place for three days, the finder is guilty of an offence.

If a slave be struck for using offensive language and dies of the blow, the fine shall be his full value.

If a free-man kill a slave, the law of retaliation shall not be enforced, but the full price of the slave must be paid.

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باب يڠکأنم فوله توجه فد مپتاکن حکم سگل اورڠيڠ
برتارهکن ديري کفد يڠبوکن کعاءيبفنپ دڠن کريضاءن سگل وارثن
ملک اي هندق کمبالي کفد ايبو بفاپ هندقله دڠن کريضاءن
اورڠيڠ تمفتپ دودق ايت جك اد کسلاهن تمفة دودق ايت

مك تڠڬلنڽ قيار حكم دڠن بتاڤ سالهڽ مك تيليك كفد
كسلاهنڽ جك سالهڽ ايت اتس دوا بهاڬي فرتام هندق دفرجواليڽ
كدوا نستاڽ دڠن نستا يڠتياد هاروس دكلواركن مك حكمڽ
فون دوا فركارا افكال هندق دفرچابوليڽ ددندا حكمڽ سفوله
تڠه تيڬ جك دنستا٢ سهاج مك اي كمبالي سڬل هرتاڽ
سماڽ دباواڽ قيار سڬل حكم تياد هاروس دبهاڬي افكال تياد
اد سسوات كسلاهنڽ اكن مريكئيت مك تڠڬلن اوله يڠ منروهكن
ديريڽ ايت بارڠيڠ اد هرتاڽ ايت خيار سڬل حكم دبهاڬي تيڬ
سبهاڬي كفد اورڠيڠ برتاروهكن ديريڽ دوا بهاڬي كفد اورڠيڠ مناروه.

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Bab yang ka-anam puloh tujoh, pada menyatakan hukum sagala orang yang ber-taroh-kan diri kapada yang bukan ka-'aib-an-nya dengan ka-ridla_an sagala waris_nya maka iya handak kambali pada bapa_nya handak_lah dengan ridla_an orang yang tampat_nia duduk itu jika ada ka_salah_an tampat duduk itu maka tinggal_an_nya kiar hukum dengan betapa salah_nya maka di_tilik kapada ka_salah_an-nya jika salah_nya itu atas dua bahagi pertama handak di_per_chabul_i ka_dua di_nista_nya dengan nista yang tiada harus di_kluar_kan maka hukum_nya pun dua perkara apa_kala handak di_per_chabul_i_nya di_denda hukum_nya sapuloh tengah tiga jika di_nista_nista sahaja maka iya kambali sagala harta_nya sumua_nya dibawa nya kiar sagala hakim tiada harus di_bahagi apa_bila tiada ada sa_suatu ka_salah_an-nya akan marika itu maka tinggal_an uleh yang men_uroh_kan diri_nya itu barang yang ada harta_nya itu khiar sagala hakim di_bahagi tiga sa_bahagi kapada orang yang ber_taroh_kan diri_nya dua bahagi kapada orang yang menaroh.

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*Chapter the sixty-seventh.*—To declare the law regarding voluntary surrender to servitude.—If a person who has voluntarily surrendered himself (or herself) to a person beyond the forbidden degrees of relationship with consent of all his (or her) relations, wishes subsequently to return to his (or her) parents, the consent of the

person with whom he (or she) lives must first be obtained. If there is any fault on the part of the latter, in consequence of which the servant absconds, the law depends upon the wrong committed. Investigation has to be made as to the nature of the wrong, which may be of two kinds, either an attempt to do an improper act, or the use of such insulting language as it is not lawful to use. The punishment is of two kinds; if there has been an attempt to commit an indecent act, the penalty is a fine of twelve and a half (tahils ?); if there has been insulting behaviour only, all the property which the servant brought must be returned to him (or her) and the opinion of all the judges is that there can be no division of it.

When, without the slightest fault on the part of the person who accepts the charge of another, the latter, who has voluntarily surrendered himself (or herself), absconds, the opinion of all the judges is that his or her property shall be divided into three portions, one of which shall go to the person who surrendered his (or her) liberty and the remaining two to the person who accepted charge of him (or her).

باب يڠكاءنم فوله لافن فد مپتاكن فري حكم سڬل اورڠ
مڠمبل انق اڠكة اكن انق همب اورڠ لاين مك دباوا بلاير برمول
ايت دڠن ستاو توانڽ كمدين دري اية مك دباوانڽ تياد ممبري
تاو توانڽ قيار سڬل حاكم مك مپبله اورڠيڠ امفوپ انق اڠكة
ايت ستڠه هرڬ جك اي ماتي جك تياد اي ماتي مك
فكرجاءنڽ سبهاڬي دباير اوله باڤ اڠكتپ.

Bab yang ka-anam puloh delapan, pada menyatakan pri hukum sagala orang mengambil anak angkat akan anak hamba orang lain maka di-bawa ber-layar mula-mula itu dengan sa-tahu tuan-nya kem-

dian deri itu maka di_bawa_nya tiada di_bĕri tahu tuan-nya kiar sagala hakim maka menyilih orang yang ampunya anak angkat sa_tengah harga_nya jika iya mati jika tiada iya mati maka pe_karja_an_nya sa_bahagi di_bayar uleh bapa angkat.

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*Chapter the sixty eighth.*—If one adopts the child of the slave of another person and takes the child so adopted on a voyage, the first time with the knowledge of the owner of the slave, but afterwards without giving notice to him and (during the subsequent voyage) the child dies, the unanimous opinion of the judges is that the father by adoption shall pay to the owner half of the value of the child. If the child does not die the father by adoption must pay to the owner half of the value of the child's services.

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باب يغكاءنم فوله سمبيلن فد مپتاكن فري حكم سگل اورغيغ برهوتغ فرتام هوتغ اية دوا بهاگي سواة هوتغ دفرجنجيكن كدوا هوتغ سهاج اكن قيار سگل حاكم جك هوتغ بغدفرجنجيكن افكال دتغگلكن جك سهاري سكاليفون كنا فكرجاءن تيمه اورغ ايت منكال لاري لفس جادي همب اورغ يغامفوپ تيمه ايت جاغن مريكئيبت لاري كفد راج اتو كفد اورغبسر جك اورغ برهوتغ سهاج افكال اي لاري لفس جادي همب اورغ جك اي منغگلكن كرج دفالو اكن مريكئيبت لامون جاغن برداره سبرمول لاگي خيار سگل حاكم اد تمفتپ هندق منچاري تيمه ايتفون عاءيب درفد نعس

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Bab yang ka-anam puloh sembilan pada menyata-kan sagala orang yang ber-hutang pertama hutang itu dua bahagi suatu hutang di-per-

janji-kan kadua hutang sahaja akan khiar sagala hakim jika hutang yang di-per-janji-kan apa-kala di-tinggal kan jika sa-hari sakali pun kena pa-karja-an timah orang itu mana-kala lari naas jadi hamba orang yang ampunya timah itu jangan marika itu lari kapada Raja atau kapada orang besar jika orang ber-hutang sahaja apa-kala iya lari naas jadi hamba jika iya meninggal-kan karja di-palu akan marika itu lamun jangan ber-darah sa-ber-mula lagi khiar sagala hakim ada tampat-nya handak men-chahari timah itu pun ‘aib deripada naas.

*The sixty ninth chapter.* To declare the law relating to debtors. Debt is of two kinds, either re-payable on a particular date agreed upon or re-payable on demand. In the case of a debt of the former kind, if the period within which payment has to be made is exceeded even by a single day the debtor may be sent to work in the tin-mines of the creditor and if he runs away he forfeits his status of a freeman and becomes the slave of the tin-miner. Let him not run to any Raja or Chief. If the debt is payable on demand and debtor absconds he loses his status and becomes a slave. If he leaves his work he may be beaten, but not so as to draw blood.

باب يڠکتوجه فوله ساتو فد مپتاکن فري حکم تبوسن اورڠ لاري فرتام٢ جکلو دالم کوت مکوفڠ جکلو اد لوار کوت هڠݢ بتاڠن ليم بيدور دمکينله‌ݢي فولڠن دري بتاڠن کاکورڠ کڠ هڠݢ کوالا بيدور دلافن بيدور هڠݢ سوڠي بوله مکبة بارڠ اد فمباوا سفرت فيسو فارڠ دان سݢل بند يڠترکورڠ هرݢاڽ جادي رمفاسن بارڠيڠ لاين دري ايت کمبالي کفد توانڽ هڠݢ کوالا دادف ليم بلس هڠݢ کوالا فيرق دوا فوله عمارة نݢري دوا کوفڠ دان

تياد جادي رمڤاسن ڤمباواكنمڤ هڠڬ كوالا دنديڠ تيڬ ڤوله

هڠڬ كواله برواس تڠه امڤة ڤوله هڠڬ كوالا لاروة تڠه ليم ڤوله هڠڬ باتو كاوان ليم ڤوله، كنتيمور هڠڬ كوالا برنم تيڬ ڤوله هڠڬ نيبوڠ اڠوس امڤة ڤوله هڠڬ ڤاسير ڤنجڠ ليم ڤوله سبرمول لاڬي كنتڠه هڠڬ ڤولو سمبيلن تيڬ ڤوله هڠڬ ڤولو تمبوراق ليم ڤوله سبرمول لاڬي دري كرڠكڠ كنتڤوس ليم بيدور دري تڤوس كروڠكڠ ليم بيدور هڠڬ تڤوس كددڤ سكبت هڠڬ بوكيت توڠڬل دوا ڤوله هڠڬ كوالا برووس برجالن تيڬ ڤوله هڠڬ كڠسو سكبت دمكينلاڬي درڤد بندر هڠڬ كوالا ڤلوس دوا ڤوله دمكينلاڬي دري سان كبندر هڠڬ جرأم ڤنجڠ تيڬ ڤوله دمكينلاڬي كبندر هڠڬ كوالا رول تڠه امڤة ڤوله ڤرتڠاهن ڤڠكالن دڠن كوالا رول تڠه ليم ڤوله هڠڬ ڤڠكالن كوا ليم ڤوله هڠڬ تڠه ليم ڤوله هڠڬ ڤرڠڬن ليم ڤوله اڤكال برجالن ككوالا لارت تڠه امڤة ڤوله سباڬيلاڬي كاڬنت هڠڬ ڤيور مانس سكبت دان ڤاري دمكين جوڬ لاڬي دري ڬنت تيڬ ڤوله دري سان هڠڬ بوكيت جينق تڠه تيڬ ڤوله ڤد بوكيت الس ليم ڤوله كسوڠي ڤري سكبت ڤد بوكية جينق تڠه تيڬ ڤوله ڤد بوكيت الس ليم دمكينلاڬي ككڤر دان كچندريڠ دان باتڠ ڤادڠ دان كسڠكي سكبة جوڬ ڤد بوكية چنيق سبات ڤد بوكيت الس ليم ڤوله هڠڬ بوكيت بيرڠ ڤون ليم ڤوله هڠڬ كوالا دول امڤة ڤوله جك كڤڠكالن كوالا ليم ڤولة هڠڬ كوالا تمڠو دمكين جوڬ هڠڬ ڤرڠڬن ڬوا ليم ڤوله.

Bab yang ka-tujoh puloh satu pada menyata-kan pri hukum tebus orang lari pertama-tama jikalau dalam Kota hingga Batangan (K. Kinta) lima bidor damikian lagi pulang-nya deri Batangan ka-

Geronggong hingga Kwala Bidor delapan bidor hingga Sungei Buluh sa-kabat barang ada pem-bawa-kan-nya seperti pisau parang dan sagala benda yang ter-korang harga-nya jadi rampas-an barang yang lain deri itu kambali ka-pada tuan-nya hingga Kwala Dedap lima belas, hingga Kwala Perak dua puloh, ‘amarat negri dua kupang dan tiada jadi rampas-an pem-bawa-kan-nia hingga Kwala Dinding tiga puloh hingga Kwala Beruas tengah ampat puloh hingga Kwala Larut tengah lima puloh hingga Batu Kawan lima puloh, ka timor hingga Kwala Bernam tiga puloh hingga Nibong Hangus ampat puloh hingga Pasir Panjang lima puloh. Sabermula lagi ka tengah hingga Pulau Sambilan tiga puloh hingga Pulau Temborak lima puloh.

| | |
|---|---|
| Sabermula lagi deri Geronggong ka Tepus, | 5 bidor |
| deri Tepus ka Geronggong, | 5 bidor |
| hingga Tepus ka Dedap, | sa-kabat |
| hingga Bukit Tunggal, | 20 bidor |
| hingga Kwala Beruas ber-jalan, | 30 ,, |
| hingga Kangsa, | sa kabat |
| Damikian lagi deri Bandar hingga K. Plus, | 20 bidor |
| damikian lagi deri sana ka Bandar hingga Jeram Panjang, | 30 ,, |
| damikian lagi ka Bandar, hingga K. Rul, | 35 ,, |
| per-tengah-an Pangkalan dengan K. Rul, | 45 ,, |
| hingga Pangkalan Kua, | 50 ,, |
| hingga Temungau, | 50 ,, |
| hingga Prenggan, | 50 ,, |
| Apakala berjalan ka Kwala Larut | 35 ,, |
| Sabagei lagi ka Kinta hingga Nior Manis sa kabat dan Pari damikian juga, lagi deri Kinta, | 30 bidor |
| deri sana hingga Bukit Jinak, | 25 ,, |
| pada Bukit Alas, | 50 ,, |
| ka Sungei Raya, | sa kabat |
| pada Bukit Jinak, | 25 bidor |
| pada Bukit Alas, | 50 ,, |

damikian lagi ka Kampar dan ka Chandrahyang dan Batang Padang dan ka Sungkei sa kabat juga

| | |
|---|---|
| pada Bukit Jinak, | sa-kabat |
| pada Bukit Alas, | 50 |
| hingga Bukit Berang pun, | 50 |
| hingga Kwala Rul, | 40 |
| Jika ka Pangkalan Kua, | 50 |
| hingga Kwala Temungau damikian juga hingga Prenggan | 50 |

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*Chapter the seventieth.*—To regulate the redemption of runaway slaves from their captors (in the State of Perak *)

| | |
|---|---|
| within the capital town or as far as Batangan (Kwala Kinta) | 5 *bidor* |
| from any place between Batangan and Geronggong to Kwala Bidor, | 8 ,, |
| to Sungei Buluh | one load † |

(All articles of trifling value carried by the runaway, such as kniors, choppers, etc. are the property of the captor and the rest must be returned to the owner of the slave).

| | |
|---|---|
| To Kwala Dedap, | 15 *bidor* |
| ,, Kwala Perak, | 20 ,, |

(If the slave is recapture within the limits of the town the reward is two *kupang* and what be carries is not seizable).

| | |
|---|---|
| To Kwala Dinding, | 30 *bidor* |
| ,, Kwala Běrúas, | 35 ,, |
| ,, Kwala Larut, | 45 ,, |
| ,, Batu Kawan, | 50 ,, |
| Going eastward—To Kwala Bernam, | 30 ,, |
| To Nibong Hangus, | 40 ,, |
| ,, Pasir Panjang, | 50 ,, |
| Central—To Pulau Sembilan, | 30 ,, |
| To Pulau Temborak, | 50 ,, |
| From Gěrónggong to Těpús, | 5 *bidor* |
| ,, Těpús to Gěrónggong, | ,, ,, |

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* Compare the Pahang scale of rewards, *supra*. p. 24.

† *Sa-kabat*= *Sa-per-tanggong-an*, as much as a man can carry (of rice).

| | |
|---|---|
| Between Tĕpús and Dedap, | one load |
| To Bukit Tunggal, * | 20 *bidor* |
| ,, Bĕrúas by land, | 30 ,, |
| ,, Kangsa, | one load |
| From Bandar to Plus or vice versâ, | 20 *bidor* |
| ,, Jeram Panjang to Bandar, | 30 ,, |
| ,, Bandar to Kwala Rul, | 35 ,, |
| ,, Beyond K. Rul but short of Pangkalan Kua, | 45 ,, |
| Up to Pangkalan Kua, | 50 ,, |
| ,, ,, Temungau, | 50 ,, |
| ,, ,, the boundary (with Patani) | 50 ,, |
| to Kwala Larut, | 35 *bidor* |
| To Kinta, up to Nior Manis, | one load |
| ,, ,, ,, to Pari, | the same |
| From Kinta, | 30 *bidor* |
| Thence as far as the forests of the Bukit Jinak, † | 25 ,, |
| ,, ,, the Bukit Alas, | 50 ,, |
| To Sungei Raya, | one load |
| ,, the Bukit Jinak, | 25 *bidor* |
| ,, the Bukit Alas, | 50 ,, |
| To Kampar, | one load |
| ,, Chandrahyang, | |
| ,, Batang Padang, | |
| ,, Sungkei, | |
| ,, the Bukit Jinak, | one load |
| ,, the Bukit Alas, | 50 *bidor* |
| ,, Bukit Bérang (Sĕlim), | 50 ,, |

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* From Geronggong? All the distances seem to be calculated from this place which was the seat of Government in the reign of Sultan Ala-eddin (Marhum Sulong) early in the 18th century, See Journ. Str. Br. R. A. S. No. 9 p. 105.

† *Bukit Jinak*, aboriginal tribes friendly to Malays (*jinak*, tame); *Bukit Alas*, wild tribes not in communication with Malays.

| | |
|---|---|
| To Kwala Rul, ... ... ... | 40 *bidor* |
| „ Pangkalan Kua, ... ... ... | 50 „ |
| „ Temungau, ... ... ... | the same |
| „ the boundary (with Patani),* ... | the same |

باب يڠكتوجه فوله امفة فد مپتاكن حكم عبدي ملوكاءي
حر ملك خيار سگل حاكم دهولوركن حكمڽ جكلو مايڠ توانڽ
دسيلهڽ سنيليڽ.

Bab yang ka-tujoh puloh ampat pada menyata-kan hukum ‘abdi me-luka-i harr maka khiar sagala hakim di-hulur-kan hukum-nya jikalau sayang tuan-nia di. silih-nya sa-nilai-nya.

*Chapter the seventy-fourth.*—To declare the law in the case of a slave who wounds a free-man. The offender's life is forfeited and he becomes a hostage to the Raja. If his master sets store by him he must pay his full estimated value to get him back.

باب يڠكتوجه فوله ليم فد مپتاكن حكم اورڠ برهوتڠ ملك
اي ماتي مك سواتفون تياد هرتاپ تڠگل كفد انقڽ ملك تياد
هاروس انقڽ ايت دجوالكن اكن فمباير هوتڠ ايبو بفاڽ.

Bab yang ka tujoh puloh lima pada menyata-kan hukum orang ber-hutang maka iya mati maka suatu pun tiada harta-nya tinggal kapada anak-nya maka tiada harus anak-nya itu di jual-kan akan pem-bayar hutang itu bapa-nya.

*Chapter the seventy-fifth.*—If a debtor dies and leaves no property to his children it is not lawful to sell them in order to recover the debt due by their father.

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* "The boundary" is here placed beyond Kwala Rul, Pangkalan Kua and Temungau. But the Siamese who invaded Perak in 1818 never completely carried out the evacuation of Ulu Perak and Patani Malays are still in possession of these places. This passage is good evidence that in the last century these places were within the Perak boundary. See Journal Str. Br. R. A. S. No. 9, p. 37.

[To the foregoing quotations from the Malay Code found in Perak, may be added the following extracts from a translation of "The Malayan laws of the Principality of Johor, published in 1855 in Vol. IX of the Journal of the Indian Archipelago. There is no indication as to the source from which the Malay MS. was obtained.]

## TRANSLATION OF THE MALAYAN LAWS OF THE PRINCIPALITY OF JOHOR.

### *Hiring and Borrowing.*

If a free man employ the slave of another with the knowledge of his master and the master receive the profits of the slave's labour, such master shall be answerable for any property entrusted to the slave.

If a man employ the slave of another without the master's knowledge, the master shall not be answerable for any loss incurred by the slave's misconduct or neglect, nor shall the slave himself be liable to any punishment.

If a slave be hired to climb a tree with the knowledge and consent of his master, and he fall and be killed or fracture a limb, it shall be deemed a misfortune only and no restitution shall be made by his employer.

If one borrow a slave of another and the master shall have said "for what purpose do you borrow your servant's slave" and the borrower have answered "for such and such a purpose," in this case he who borrowed shall make restitution to the amount of two-thirds of the slave's value.

If a man borrow a slave for the purpose of climbing trees and say to the master "peradventure he may be killed or "maimed" and the master shall have replied "if he be killed "let him be killed and if he be maimed let him be maimed," and this slave be killed, the borrower shall make restitution to the extent of one-third of his value only, or in the event of his being wounded or hurt, defray the expense of curing him and restoration to his master.

If a man hire the slave of another and employ him in diving without the knowledge of his master, and he be drowned, the borrower shall make restitution to the extent of one-half of the slave's value.

If in such a case the slave shall have been employed in diving with the knowledge of his master, the borrower shall make restitution to the extent of one-third of the slave's value only, for the slave was fairly employed for hire.

If a man borrow the female slave of another, and cohabit with her, he should be fined, if such cohabitation be contrary to the woman's inclination, one *tahil* and one *paha*, or with her consent five *mas*.

If a man borrow a female slave of another and cohabit with her, she being a virgin, he shall be fined ten *mas*, a piece of cloth, a coat, a dish of areca and betel, and be directed to make an obeisance to the owner of the slave.

If in such case the woman have been a widow, the fine shall only be five *mas*. This is the law of the town, of the villages, the creek and bay and the distant dependencies, that no one presuming on his own importance may oppress the unprotected slaves.

### *Desertion.*

If a strange slave from abroad run away in the country, he shall not be restored, but through the special favour of the great.

If a slave run away to a distant dependency of the city as far as one or two days' voyage, he shall be sold, and one-third of his price shall go to the chief of the district, and two-thirds be restored to his master, but if such slave run no further than the port (*kwala*), his ransom shall only be three *mas*.

If a slave run from within the walls of the town to the outside of the fort, his ransom shall be two *kupangs*. This is the custom of the land.

### *Theft and Robbery.*

If a man steal the slave of another and conceal him in his house, and such slave be there discovered, the goods and chattels of the offender shall be subjected to confiscation.

If a thief running away with a slave conceal such slave not in his house, but in a forest or in a boat or vessel, he shall only be fined 5 *tahils*.

If a slave on board a ship commits theft and gives the stolen property to his master, who does not make the affair known to the commander, the slave shall suffer amputation of his hand and the master shall be fined the usual fine for receiving stolen property.

If a slave on board a ship accuse a freeman of a theft and there be no witnesses and no evidence, he shall be punished as if on shore, that is to say suffer amputation of a hand, or pay the customary fine of one *tahil* and one *paha* because he has presumed unjustly to accuse a freeman.

### *Kidnapping.*

If a man carry off to sea or into the interior beyond a day and a night's journey, the retainer of another without the permission of his chief and such retainer die, the person so carrying him off shall forfeit the full amount of his value or furnish a substitute for the benefit of the chief; should the distance in this case not exceed half a day's journey, no penalty shall be incurred. But in the case of freemen, by the law of God, no substitute nor penalty shall be incurred.

If a man kidnap a slave belonging to the king it shall be lawful to put him to death, and his property shall be confiscated.

If the slave be the property of the first minister or any other great officer of state and the person convicted of taking him away be the commander of the ship himself, it shall be lawful to put him to death.

If the person so offending be one of a crew, the commander shall be fined in the sum of ten *tahils* and one *paha* and the offender shall suffer death.

If the kidnapped slaves belong to an ordinary person the offender shall be either put to death or fined in the sum of ten *tahils* and one *paha*, at the discretion of the Magistrate.

If a commander kidnaps the slave of the intendant of the port he shall be put to death, and all his property confiscated or pay a fine of one *catty* and five *tahils.*

### *Offences against the Marriage Contract.*

If a slave pay his adresses to a betrothed person of his own condition he shall be fined ten *mas* and no more.

### *Adultery.*

If a man attempt to seduce a female slave the property of another, he shall be fined five *mas,* but should he actually have cohabited with her, he shall be fined double that amount.

If a man deflower the slave of another, he shall be fined ten *mas,* for he has committed violence.

If a free man have criminal conversation with the slave of another, such free man shall be thrown upon his hands and be made to pay the master the slave's price two-fold.

If however in this case the slave shall have been pregnant by the master, the offenders shall both of them be put to death.

Even if the slave have not been pregnant but have long lived with her master as if she were his wife, it shall also be proper that the offenders be put to death.

If a slave is caught in criminal conversation with another slave, the whole crew shall fall upon them and beat them. This matter rests with the chief of the midship.

### *Assaults.*

If a slave cut and wound a free man, he shall be forfeited as a slave for life to the king.

If a free man cut and wound a slave, he shall be fined half the slave's value, or, if very poor, ten *mas.*

If a slave give a free man a slap on the face, his hand shall be cut off.

If a free man give a slave a slap on the face, without offence on the part of the latter, he shall be fined, if poor five *mas,* if rich ten *mas.* But if the slave should have been insolent, the free man shall not be considered in fault.

If a slave give abusive language to a free person, he shall receive a blow in his face, or have a tooth extracted.

If a slave, whether male or female, hit another slave a slap in the face, the offender shall be fined to the extent of half the price of the slave assaulted. By the law of God he who strikes shall be struck again, and this is the law of retaliation and is named justice.

### *Homicide.*

If a slave or debtor run *amok* in the city, it shall be lawful to kill him but when once apprehended, should he be put to death, the slayer shall be fined ten *tahils* and one *paha.*

If a slave commit a murder it shall be lawful for a third person to put him to death, when the affair occurs in a distant situation and there is a difficulty in securing the criminal; but if it take place near authority, the slayer shall be fined five *tahils* and one *paha* for having killed the slave without the leave of his master or those in authority; in this last case, however, should the slave have been mortally wounded, it shall be lawful to put him to death.

If a free man kill a slave of the king he shall be fined in the value of the said slave seven times seven-fold, or if he escape the fine, he shall be put to death or become for ever with his family and relations slaves to the king.

If a man of high rank kill a slave of the king he shall be fined one *catty* and five *tahils,* and not put to death, but if the slave shall have been killed by such great man for some crime, nothing shall be said on the subject.

If a slave commit a theft and be apprehended and put to death, the slayer shall be fined half his value, one-half to go to the magistrate and one-half to his master, for the offence of not informing the magistrate.

If a person apprehend a slave of the king committing a theft and then kill him, he shall be fined ten *tahils* and one *paha*, but if he put him to death in the act of committing a theft he shall have committed no offence.

If a slave shall be killed by the owner of the stolen property by mistake, the slayer shall pay a fine to the amount of twice the value of the slave.

If a free man strike a slave and the slave stab and kill him in return, he shall be deemed to have committed no offence.

If a free man give abusive language to the wife of a slave and the slave in return kill the free man, it shall be deemed no offence, for it is written that no married woman shall be made light of; this is the law of custom, but by the law of God whoever kills shall himself be killed.

### *The Discipline and Rules to be observed at sea.*

If a slave escape from on board the ship, the officer keeping the watch shall be compelled to make good his price and the watchmen on duty shall be punished with sixty strokes of a rattan.

If the slave of any one on board the ship be guilty of burning or destroying the ship's ladder, his master shall be fined four strings of the small coins of Java and the slave receive forty stripes.

# MALAY LAW IN NEGRI SEMBILAN.

BY

HON. MARTIN LISTER.

IN 1888, I wrote an appendix to my Administration Report on the Negri Sembilan for 1887 entitled "Origin and Constitution."* It has been suggested that what was only a very brief and superficial sketch might further be enlarged upon. What I wrote was explanatory of my Report, was sketchy and in many points inaccurate, and it was not written for publication in a Journal. This paper, however, was reprinted in the Asiatic Society's Journal, though this had not been my intention when I wrote the Report, and it is excusable, I think, to say that difficulties have arisen in writing what I had intended to write later, viz., a far fuller and more careful paper for publication in connection with this very interesting subject. Without constant repetition of the previous paper this is impossible. Thus I have decided upon taking the question from a different view, and giving some illustrations of cases and decisions in Malay custom connected with their origin, such custom being of a curiously complicated form and derived from a singular origin of Muhammadan Malay occupation and are, if not unknown, ignored in other Malay States.

First and foremost it must be understood that instead of Bugis and other Malay pirates occupying a coast line, as in the case of Selangor and Perak, driving back and taking as slaves the non-Muhammadan aborigines of the Peninsula termed "Sakei," "Jakun," "Semang" and "Waris laut," the people of Menangkabau who penetrated into the Negri Sembilan *viâ*

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* *Vide* "The Negri Sembilan, their Origin and Constitution," 1889.

Malacca or the Muar River came as settlers. They came in search of pastures new, possibly on account of troubles and disturbances in the State of Menangkabau in Sumatra, just as we did in leaving English shores for the continent of America. There were no Rajas or Warriors on the look out for conquest and plunder, merely peaceful emigrants from Sumatra who hoped to find fertile and rich countries in which they might quietly settle and make their home. Now it is more than probable that all these settlers came from the interior of Sumatra. They were accustomed to mountainous, hilly districts where existed rich alluvial valleys in which they knew they would find soils fertile and easy of irrigation. Thus, taking a number of the States as instances, we have Rembau and Naning both inland from Malacca and within easy reach of high mountains—Lédang (Ophir) on the one side, and the range of hills from Gunong Tampin running to the North. Those who penetrated here were evidently not piratically inclined, they came to cultivate, to live and let live. Then, we have Sungei Ujong where all the original settlers are to be found at Pantei ( at the foot of Gunong Berembun ) and in the upper reaches of the Linggi River, though later they occupied the Coast, in contention however constantly with the Rajas of Selangor ( very piratically inclined gentlemen ), who did all they knew to harass the people of the interior. This is a very possible explanation of the claims of Selangor to Lukut and Sungei Raya, which can only be viewed in connection with some such piratical occupation, and not from any real territorial rights. Malacca was a very ancient Sultanate dating from even before the Muhammadan religion reached the Straits of Malacca. I add this, as it might be said, in speaking of territorial rights, "Then why did not the Negri Sembilan possess Malacca?" Again the Sultans of Malacca and of Menangkabau were apparently closely related, the Negri Sembilan settlers acknowledging the Sultanate of Malacca supreme, as it was, in the Malay Peninsula, and when this Sultanate was driven by the Portuguese to settle in Johor, they acknowledged the ancient Sultans of Johor, of which the present Sultan is only a distant connection.

The inhabitants of the State of Johol, which includes Ulu Muar, Terachi and Jempol, are said to have reached this country by ascending the Muar River. The origin of the word Muar is said to be from the Malay word "Mua," for which the best translation may be "satiated." Thus "*Suda mua mudek sungei ini*"—"I am utterly satiated (by fatigue) in ascending this river." Thus Muar became the name given to the district from the Segamat boundary to Kwala Jelei in the State of Johol. The settlers, however, appear to have recovered their strength and colonised again "Ulu Muar," almost the most populous State, at present, of the Negri Sembilan. From this again we have Kwala Muar, the name given to the small territory on the Muar River from the Segamat boundary to the mouth of the river. Segamat was ruled by the Sultans of Johor, through the Temenggong of Segamat, and Kwala Muar was never a place of any importance except as the mouth of a large river and the residence latterly of Sultan ALI of Johor. Ulu Klang, one of the four original States of the Negri Sembilan, appears to have been principally so in origin as but very few Menangkabau settlers went there, and it was more from the aboriginal point of view that it was considered one of the Negri Sembilan, though in connection with the ancient constitution there is no doubt that it formed a part. This I described more or less in my original paper, I also sketched the arrival of emigrants from Sumatra, and later the demand by these thriving colonists from Menangkabau for a Raja from that Sultanate to be suzerain and constitutional Sultan of the Negri Sembilan, *i.e.*, for a number of States which had become so populous that the necessity for a Raja and high court of appeal had become felt.

From what is here written and from my original paper, the way is paved to giving intelligibly a number of political cases and cases of custom which may go further to give a general insight into custom from origin. Much of what occurs here in connection with Malay laws is frequently found in other Malay districts of the interior, such as Kinta, Ulu Selangor and Ulu Pahang, where the Malay custom is closely allied with aboriginal customs and ideas.

In order to treat the question in a consecutive form, it will be necessary to take first the aboriginal or as here termed "Rai'at" cases on custom first. The "Baten" or chiefs are, according to ancient usage, closely connected with the Malay tribe from which the Penghulu of States are in nearly all cases elected. The four principal "Baten" are of Ulu Klang, Sungei Ujong, Jelebu and Johol. They had a strong voice in the election of the Muhammadan Penghulu. The cause is apparent. The Menangkabau colonists married the daughters of Batens. Their children were Muhammadans and the female children (in accordance with Menangkabau law) inherited and became the origin of the "Waris" or tribe of "Beduanda" which was declared to be the inheriting civilized tribe, whilst at the same time they still had to recognise the Baten or Rai'at powers in the mountains and forests and preserve their position and identity in connection with the "Beduanda" tribe. This explains the custom of female inheritance and according to Menangkabau custom a man cannot marry in his tribe, that is, in the tribe of his mother. Thus a Beduanda man must marry into another tribe and thus his children belong to the tribe of the mother.

It is often most interesting to converse with Baten and Rai'at chiefs on their traditions and laws especially in tracing the connection with the Malay Muhammadan customs. A Baten will invariably tell you that all the forest and waste lands, called by them "Gaung," "Guntong," "Bukit," "Bukau" as inclusive of everything uncultivated, belong to them. This is by origin correct, but there is at the same time no doubt that they have parted with their rights to the Muhammadan tribe of Beduanda in all cases of Government concession and taxation. Still the Datoh of Johol pays to the Baten of Johol a proportion of the revenues derived from waste lands through his minister the Jenang of Johol, who is, so to speak, minister for the aborigines. The Baten often collect themselves where the Beduanda are remiss in doing so. For instance, in Muar (*i. e.,* on the reaches of the Muar River above the Segamat boundary) Baten Gemala, who is the principal Baten of Johol, told me he collected a fee that he called "*panchong alas*" from the Malays who collected jungle produce. The amount of the fee was insignificant, being $1 per man once in three years. He told me with some pride that this was the "*peti duit orang utan*" or "the penny box of the man of the woods." The simplicity of this form of taxation was most curious and shows the freedom from guile of the aboriginal mind. He was attempting at the time I first met him to collect this fee for the past three years, not in advance. I tried to assist him, but my attempt was vain. He was somewhat indignant at the falseness of the Malay, but for my own part I was not astonished at it. In talking of his position with reference to the Datoh of Johol he said that as between him and the Datoh "*adat tiada berubah, perjanjian tiada beraleh, setia tiada bertukar,*" *i.e.,* "custom cannot be altered, agreements cannot be changed, alliances cannot be revoked." This is a very beautiful expression of Malay fealty and loyalty. Sometimes a Baten or Jerukrah who is minister to the Baten is very indignant. He will say "the Penghulu get thousands of dollars now in selling our forests." Then I explain to them that it is necessary that this earth should be developed. I point out to them that they are not able to govern or regulate such things and that they cannot truly claim the forests as being theirs, but that what they can claim is to have all that they require for their maintenance from forests. They will then reply that this is quite right and that they are really perfectly happy as long as they have forests reserved to them and that they do not know what to do with money. They are delighted with presents of tobacco, stuffs and other trifles. If you give them money they generally go home to the forest and bury it, never telling any one where, so that on their death it is lost. I know one man who likes getting money and he always comes alone to see me and asks for it. He comes alone so as to be able to bury the money without difficulty. He has evidently a craving for silver and experiences the satisfaction of a miser in knowing that he has money, though he does not make use of it.

The Rai'at talk in the most proverbial manner and constantly quote sayings which have certainly become Malay, but which often and often are unknown to Malays of the present day. It is a usual thing for a Malay to exclaim when a Rai'at is talking "*pandei sekali chakap*"—"how clever he is at talking"—and he looks at him in admiration. The Malay, however, knows the Rai'at's intense simplicity, and if he wants any advantages from him he will get all he requires. He will also laugh at him, though in a friendly chaffing way and it is often amusing to hear the Rai'at get by far the best of the laugh.

The Rai'ats never object to the collection of revenues by British Officers. They say that the English know how to do it and that they do it rightly and that it should be so, but they say the Malays know nothing about it and that when money comes into a Malay country it makes nothing but difficulties and trouble. They are lookers on, and it is hardly necessary to say how correct their views are.

A Rai'at has the greatest dread of a grant for land; nothing will persuade him to take out a grant and if pressed, which in the Native States is unnecessary, he will leave the country and travel away into the mountains of the interior. Anything binding, any direct taxation or registration drives them away.

Their real objection to taking out grants for land is because of their custom that if there is a death in the house, they must leave the place and settle elsewhere generally many miles away.

The origin of land tenure here is very curious and probably unknown in any other State of the Malay Peninsula. When the original settlers arrived, they ingratiated themselves with the aborigines and first of all no doubt got free gifts of forest land from the Baten. Later on there probably was competition for waste lands in fertile valleys and presents were given to the Baten for the land. This resulted later in the sale of land to the Muhammadan settlers. The price was a knife or a weapon, a piece of cloth or some article valued by the Rai'at, but it became an actual sale. According to Muhammadan law, land cannot be sold, it is God's land and man cannot sell it. Thus here we have distinctly the aboriginal origin in the sales of waste lands. Later, as the Muhammadans became powerful in the country, the Muhammadan tribe of Beduanda took up the sale of waste lands and made considerable profit by it, and during the last twenty years, the Beduanda chiefs have sold waste lands of, say, three or four acres in extent for eight and ten dollars and sometimes more.

As this custom was against Muhammadan law it was easy for the Government to put a stop to an usage which caused many disputes, trouble and even bloodshed in the country.

In my article printed in this Journal, 1889, I have given the dry facts in connection with origin and constitution. The tribes are governed by the "*Adat Perpateh*" and by the customs derived from the aborigines. With the Raja family this is not the case, and the "*Adat Temenggong*" governs property and inheritance.

In order to explain by practical instances the entire constitution, I will now give a number of political and customary cases which have occurred to my knowledge as these may be useful in understanding a somewhat elaborate constitution and code of laws. I must remark at the same time that in quoting past cases I do not wish in any way to criticize what was done in the past, when it was absolutely impossible to make head or tail of the intricate laws of these States and when we had the very smallest experience in the Malay Peninsula.

First of all, I would refer to the case of the Yam Tuan Mudaship of Rembau. An Arab Syed (Saban) from Malacca married a daughter of the Yam Tuan Muda Raja Ali of Rembau. He learnt something of the tribal laws of Rembau and what to him was the great thing the law of female inheritance. He advised his father-in-law to abdicate in his favour. At this the Penghulu and Lembagas of Rembau were furious, refusing to have a Syed as Yam Tuan Muda. They applied for assistance from the Yam Tuan of Sri Menanti and together they drove the Syed and the other Raja out of the country. After this the British Government quite rightly arranged with the Rembau Chiefs that Tampin should be settled on the Raja family of Rembau, Rembau refusing to accept a Yam Tuan Muda for the future. Syed Saban took possession of Tampin.

Now in this case the Syed was all wrong. He learnt a little of the laws of the country, but not enough. Female inheritance does not follow in the Sultanate or Raja Mudaship, but only amongst commoners in the tribes, and the Yam Tuan and the chiefs of Rembau were justly incensed. The Syed after having been the means of dispossessing his father-in-law, became his lawyer so to speak, being a man who had experience of the outer world. The only wrong result has been that instead of the true Raja family obtaining Tampin, the Syed descendants of the clever Syed Saban have inherited, and the other Rajas of Rembau get comparatively nothing.

The case of the Sungei Ujong war is interesting. The late Syed Aman, Klana of Sungei Ujong, was the son of another such Arab Syed who married a woman of the Beduanda tribe in which the Dato' Klana is elected. On the death of Dato' Klana Sendeng, Syed Aman got himself elected as Klana of Sungei Ujong and this led to one long dispute with the Dato' Bandar who is the other great Waris Chief of the State. Syed Aman cleverly sought the assistance of the British Government, at the same time saying that he was Klana and Raja (being a Syed) combined and that he would no longer acknowledge the suzerainty of the Yam Tuan of Sri Menanti. This brought down upon him the wrath of Sri Menanti. Syed Aman, however, had already obtained British protection, he was protected in his State, and the Yam Tuan of Sri Menanti, who was really quite right, was repulsed with great slaughter, and his country occupied by British troops. Sungei Ujong thus became independent. This case brings to notice the law that it is illegal for a Raja to marry in the tribe of Beduanda for fear that the offspring might become Penghulu and as a Raja usurp the Rajaship at the same time. "*Penghulu dia Raja dia*" is the phrase given, or perhaps more properly "*Undang dia ka' adilan dia.*"

The same thing happened in Jelebu. The present Penghulu is a Syed and on the death of the late Yam Tuan Muda of Jelebu he successfully intrigued in getting rid of the Raja family and governing alone in Jelebu.

It is impossible that Malay States such as these should be ruled in accordance with constitution and custom, without a

Raja who is independent of all the commoners of the State and who can control the actions of the "commoner" chiefs, and without the Raja, the whole constitution becomes a chaos. By removing this link the chain falls to pieces. I will give an instance of this. Ever since the Yam Tuan Muda of Rembau ceased to exist, the Penghulu alone has had to rule a turbulent people with whom he is connected by marriages and intermarriages, and since that there has been nothing but difficulty in Rembau. He was being dragged in every direction, his decisions were disregarded and not a single decision did he give that was deemed right. He had no longer the support of the Raja, thus the chiefs of tribes, who are numerous, attacked him in every direction and would have been glad to get rid of him in the same way as he had got rid of the Raja.

He used to say to the Chinese who took up land for planting in Rembau "*Jikalau kris terchabut sahaya yang sarongkan*" "If the kris is drawn I will replace it in its sheath." This was a vain boast, as he could not, being a commoner, and there being no fear of him as in the case of a Raja.

Another case in point is that of the Yam Tuan of Sri Menanti. As soon as the Klana of Sungei Ujong became independent, by our assistance, the other States of Sri Menanti all thought that they would like the same thing, and the disputes, the bloodshed and general chaos in these States became simply indescribable. Seeing the Penghulu anxious to get rid of the Raja, the Lembaga started fighting the Penghulu and the Chiefs of families fought the Chiefs of tribes.

There are a number of cases which might be quoted, but I think that the above demonstrate the law of "*Lembaga kapada Undang, Undang kapada kaadilan.*"

In order to put things right here in 1884 it was necessary really to put everything back to what it was 20 years before. To put the Raja in his place, the Penghulu in his, the Lembaga and the chief families in a tribe in theirs. In some tribes there were as many as six Lembaga in Sri Menanti in 1887. There were also two Penghulu in two of the States. The only thing to do was to bring the constitution to bear and adhere strictly to it, and very stringent measures were taken in order to restore peace and order and to guarantee the proper power of each Chief of the State. A false Penghulu was deported, and anumber of false Chiefs detained until they would acknowledge the Chief of Tribe, recognised by the Raja and the Penghulu.

Members of the chief families in a tribe were threatened for bringing got up cases against the Lembaga and in a short time everything resumed its proper condition. But this was not all, the Waris tribe was clamouring for revenues, was selling land and claiming lands from the tribes as not having been paid for when occupied ten and fifteen years ago. The Waris were treated as a tribe and the Chiefs of the Tribe only recognised and they were allotted a percentage on the revenues derived from waste lands. The sale of land and the claiming of the value of occupied lands was knocked on the head by Muhammadan law as already described. The Chief in each tribe was kept responsible for his tribe and was called and is now called in every case, in or out of Court, affecting his tribe. Every Chief was told that, in every case the ancient usages and constitution would be adhered to, and he was warned that any departure from the same would be likely to cause his dismissal from office. The Chiefs soon saw how much better this was and how secure each man's position had become. The Raja was treated as supreme and all the rules of homage and the laws of the Istana were strictly enforced, the Raja at the same time recognising the British Officer in the administration of the State and of its Courts.

The above has, I think, explained a great deal which might not have been understood except by illustration. It shows the position of all the Chiefs, and from this I will pass to a number of cases in customary laws.

The method of the election of the Raja, the Penghulu and Lembaga have been briefly described in the original paper. I will, however, give an instance of the election of a Lembaga of one of the principal tribes here, viz., that of Sri Lemak Pahang the Chief of which is also Deputy Penghulu of Ulu Muar (*Pangku Penghulu serta haluan sembah*). There are six families in this tribe from which the Chief of the Tribe can be elected. These families come in turn for the election of the Chief. At the last election, in troublous times the order in which the families stood for the election of the Chief had been taken wrongly. It may be understood how this disturbed the equanimity of the various families when the question of succession again had to be decided. First of all it was impossible to get the six families to arrive at an agreement or an election. This being the case the question went on appeal to the Penghulu of Ulu Muar, who is an old man and imagined that with a British Officer in the State he could put in his favourite relation in the tribe regardless of families and be supported in so doing. The tribe however knowing that the constitution was being carefully adhered to would not accept the Penghulu's decision and the case went to the Dato' of Johol who did not wish to interfere openly with the Penghulu of Ulu Muar and recommended that they should go to the Resident. The Raja was then consulted. He was of course indifferent as to who was elected Lembaga and the case was fully inquired into. One of the families had been missed over and the question was whether the chieftainship should return to that family and then go on or whether the order of the families should be proceeded with as if there had been no previous mistake. It was decided that what had been, had been (*"yang sudah, sudah"*)and that the next family in order should take the rank. Directly this was decided and upheld there was no further trouble and in a few days all the families acquiesced in this being the best: it was then easy to elect the individual in the family to be Lembaga.

Nothing can be more dangerous in these States than for any one to practice what we call patronage. For instance, to say "I want this man as Chief. He is intelligent and he can read and write and I won't have this ignorant dirty looking indiviual." Such action throws the whole system into chaos, and not only that but the intelligent reading and writing man imagines that he has more power than he really has because he has been selected above all others, regardless of custom, and before long the whole tribe is up in arms, generally justly, at his doings and he has to be dismissed.

In Terachi, in 1887, there were two Penghulu. One of them, and the right one, was recognised by the Raja and by the Dato' of Johol. The other one had half the State on his side, but he was really wrong though he had a grievance. In the origin of things there were two families in Terachi who ruled. A former Penghulu had formally renounced the office for his family. He was a very strict Muhammadan and did not consider that such worldly things as office should be entertained in his family. Thus the office devolved entirely on the other family for election. This was ratified. The descendants, however, of this devout Mussulman did not view the matter in the same light. There was a good deal of trouble on this score in old days and a settlement was arrived at of creating an officer in the exempted family to be called "Andatar." This smoothed matters for a time.

For some years, however, previous to 1887 the conflict between the two families had broken out with renewed vigour, hence the two Penghulu.

The question was referred to the Resident, it was referred to the Raja, and a decision was after considerable antagonism from the family of the Penghulu holding office, eventually arrived at.

It was this, that the old custom should be reverted to; that the two families should take it in turn for the Penghuluship and equally so for the office of Andatar. There was a great feast and many rites were gone through, many proverbs, wise saws and Menangkabau legal phrases quoted, and the thing was done. There has been no difficulty since.

Here again is a case that has only been referred to as having created ill-feeling, but which illustrates the Baten influence in State matters. Baten Gemala, the principal Baten of Johol, who lives some miles in the interior on the left bank of the Muar River, was induced, in consequence of a number of his people becoming Muhammadans and of other Muhammadan settlers arriving in the rantaus ( reaches ) of the Muar River above Segamat called Muar, to consider recently the advisability of bringing forward a Penghulu.

The Penghulus of States having by origin been brought into office by the Baten, this was no doubt constitutionally correct.

Baten Gemala brought the individual whom he had selected to the Dato' of Johol in order that the Dato' should recognise this new Penghuluship. The Dato' of Johol did so. He thought it would conduce to a settled population in Muar, where formerly, like on many other rivers, the people of the "Rantau" had been nomadic, moving from "rantau" to "rantau" and never permanently settling. The Penghulu of Ladang, however, whose ancestors before him had always ruled this district under the Penghulu of Johol, was much annoyed at this new departure and the result was quarrels and jealousies. Penghulu Muar died a short time ago and the Dato' of Johol will not make further experiments in accepting a Baten Penghulu.

The case of the Raja di Muda of Terachi, Lembaga of the tribe of Beduanda, is not without interest. It was decided only recently, but may be quoted as showing how the Chief of a tribe must recognise the Penghulu and cannot depart from the usages and customs required of him in his office. I would remark parenthetically that the titles Raja di Muda, Beginda Maharaja, &c., are only titles of commoners not of Rajas. These titles are derived from the Menangkabau customs of "gĕláran" which I shall make mention of further on.

An important case of inheritance of personal not entailed property occurred in Terachi. The case came to the Penghulu in appeal. The Penghulu gave his decision in the case. The decision was given against the Raja di Muda tribe. Raja di Muda considered himself ill-treated and the Penghulu himself brought the case before the Resident, who decided in favour of the Penghulu's decision, but modifying the Penghulu's decision in consultation with the Penghulu himself. From that date Raja di Muda has placed himself in every State matter in opposition to the Penghulu and has become a violent obstructionist. The Penghulu for some time took no notice of this, but at last a serious constitutional error was recorded amongst the many acts of Raja di Muda. The mother of an officer with the title of Mendika and of the tribe of which Raja di Muda was Chief, died. Mendika is what is termed the "Tiang Balei" of the Penghulu, that is, the centre post of the

Penghulu's office. The Penghulu must immediately be officially informed, and various rites have to be gone through. The funeral has to be officially arranged by the Penghulu. All this Raja di Muda ignored, carried it through himself with a high hand and the Penghulu was never consulted. This was too much and the whole matter was reported. Enquiries were made, the Penghulu sent for Raja di Muda, who did not come, and the Penghulu asked to be allowed to dismiss Raja di Muda and that the re-election of another officer be recognised. This was accorded. To the outside world this may appear trivial, but to the Malay mind the Raja di Muda had by his last action placed himself in direct and meaning antagonism to the Penghulu absorbing the Penghulu's rights in his own, and this could not be.

A case in Rembau is one of some interest. The Chief of the Sri Melenggang tribe became intensely unpopular in a certain section of his tribe, in consequence undoubtedly of irregularities he had committed in that section. After a good deal of seething and boiling in the tribe the whole matter bubbled up before the Penghulu and ruling Waris of Rembau (*vide* Origin and Constitution). The Penghulu referred the matter back to the tribe for further consultation and for proofs to be brought forward of the complaints made. The plaintiffs went away and not long after it was rumoured abroad that a new Chief had been elected, the actual holder of the office not having been formally deposed with the sanction of the Penghulu. Then the Penghulu and Waris enquired the meaning of these signs, such as the firing of guns, the hanging of curtains in the house of one MARASHAD and let the tribe explain the adoption of such forms which were only allowed to a Chief. The disaffected ones in the tribe asked for a meeting of all the Chiefs at which they would present themselves. The Penghulu accorded this and ordered the Chiefs to be present at his Balei. The day arrived. All were congregated. A message came from those disaffected who were outside the fence of the house in the *padang* or field for the Waris to come out and meet the new Chief and escort him to the Penghulu's presence. This created general consternation and after deliberation it was decided that this was unconstitutional, that the Chiefs had not met for the purpose of receiving a newly elected Lembaga, but to deliberate on the shortcomings of the existing one. The answer was couched in these terms. Again the demand was made, and again it was refused. Nothing more occurred at the time, but the Penghulu and Waris applied for the arrest of the ringleaders in this unconstitutional proceeding. This was granted and the arrests were made. The defence was that the tribe was dissatisfied with its Chief, that the tribe had the right of electing its Chief. Against this it was urged that there could be at no time two Chiefs in the same tribe. That the Penghulu had not acknowledged the dismissal of the existing Chief, that the action of the disaffected members outside the Penghulu's Balei was not customary, and that the prisoners had been guilty of attempting to make disturbances in the tribe in no way warranted by the constitution. The ringleaders were comparatively heavily fined and the original complaints against the Chief were again referred for enquiry to the Council of Chiefs ( *Waris serta orang yang dua blas*).

In 1887, the Rembau Chiefs were all divided against the Penghulu. The point at issue was that of revenues from waste lands. The question commenced to assume a very serious aspect when a force of thirty or forty armed Malays stopped a Chinaman, to whom the Penghulu had granted forest land for planting, from felling the forest. This act on the part of the insubordinate Chiefs resulted in a very elaborate enquiry. The disaffected Waris urged that they had never received any part of revenues and the Chiefs of tribes urged with the disaffected Waris that they were entitled to revenues from waste lands in the vicinity of their holdings. The Penghulu and his friends, however, denied the statements of the disaffected Waris. They also brought up a point of importance, viz., that if the Waris had a grievance they should do everything they could to settle it in the tribe. If they could not that they should together bring the matter to the Penghulu's Balei. This had not been done and the Penghulu had been ignored throughout. The disaffected Datohs at the enquiry all asked to leave the Balei of the Penghulu and urged the other Chiefs to do the same. Nearly all the Chiefs left. This was a sign that they were going out to try and arrive at an agreement to depose the Penghulu, but in this they failed, and returned without having been able to be of one mind in the matter (*kabulatan*). Then came the question of the Lembaga claiming a share of the revenue from waste lands. Now, according to the custom a Lembaga has no rights in the State except in his tribe and over the land which he bought from the Waris (*tanah bertebus*). It was evident that the mere fact of purchase gave him no rights to other waste lands, the matter was discussed at great length, the Lembagas bringing up numbers of sayings and laws that were useless by themselves being all governed by the main laws, viz., "*Gaung, Guntong, Bukit, Bukau Herta Waris, Penghulu prentah loa, Lembaga prentah suku*", *i. e.*, that all waste lands were the property of the Waris, that the Penghulu ruled the State and the Lembaga ruled his tribe. The case was given entirely against the Lembagas. This being done and the disaffected Waris and Lembagas having been proved to be wrong, it was necessary to consider the crime they had committed against the State. They were found guilty of departing from the constitution and of ignoring the rules of appeal and the ancient customs and usages of the State of Rembau. They were all dismissed from their posts and the families in each tribe were sent for in order that re-elections should be made. This was done and this one decision has restored the Penghulu as head of the State, the Waris as inheritors of waste lands, and the Lembaga as rulers in their tribes.

This was a very leading case in reference to all the States of the Negri Sembilan, and by it every State has been maintained on the same lines.

In Sri Menanti there were terrible disputes regarding ownership to mines and Waris claims. Because a Waris claimed as a Waris he also claimed ownership. This was evidently wrong. The Waris' claim was a State claim, ownership was a private claim. Thus by giving a small percentage of tin revenues to the heads of the Waris tribe and by registering the various mines to the owners and legalizing a royalty to be paid to them by the Chinese miner, the difficulty was overcome and every one became contented. The late Yam Tuan of Sri Menanti, in order to make a last attempt at quieting a very turbulent and powerful Waris faction in Ulu Muar, had married a lady of this family. This unfortunately did not improve matters, as although this faction became friendly with the Raja it started terrible struggles with all the other Waris and even with the tribes and being allied to the Raja became more formidable to the peace of the country than hitherto.

Land cases are not very frequent here as land is so well defined by custom. At the same time there have been a number of cases which dated from previous years and had never been settled. Directly a case was brought up again faction fights occurred and then the case was again left unsettled. A very old case at Ampang Serong, about five miles from Kwala Pilah, required immediate settlement. It was as between the tribe of Beduanda Waris and the tribe of "Tiga Batu." The Waris first claimed that they had never sold the land and that it had been appropriated by the Tiga Batu tribe. This, however, they failed to prove, as it was ruled that they could not claim purchase money after upwards of one hundred years of occupation. Then they claimed proprietorship of a great portion saying that the Tiga Batu tribe had encroached. The Tiga Batu tribe on the other hand said that the land had been mortgaged to the Waris for fifty dollars ($50). The whole case was investigated on the spot. It was perfectly evident that the Waris' claim was incorrect. They claimed the paddy land and had forgotten to consider the hill land on the side of the valley where the houses and gardens are. Taking the hill land in the occupation of the tribe, it was evident that in accordance with the ancient usage of selling land in straight strips across a valley or across it up to the main stream the land claimed actually did belong to the tribe of Tiga Batu though in consequence of the mortgage of the paddy field to the tribe of Waris it had been for years cultivated by the Waris holder of the mortgage. It was ordered that the amount of the mortgage should be paid to the Waris tribe and that the land should remain in the possession of the tribe of Tiga Batu.

Land once held by a tribe is very seldom sold to other tribes. If debts have been incurred and a person's holding has to be sold it is nearly always bought in by the tribe and this avoids many complications in proprietorship that might otherwise arise. There are of course disputes in a tribe, but these are disputes of inheritance more than of boundaries and are far more easily settled. The technical terms for land purchased from the Waris and the dry outline of land tenure has already been described in my former paper. I have referred also to "*herta membawa,*" that is, property brought by the husband to his wife's house, as in these States, the women being inheritors of all lands, the man always goes to his wife's house ("*tempat semenda*"). If he divorces or his wife dies he returns to his mother's house (*"herta pesaka"*). Cases of "*herta membawa*" are most difficult to decide upon. I will give an instance. A foreign Malay from Sungei Ujong married a woman in Ulu Muar; he was accidentally wounded by a spring gun that had been set for pig, and died. His mother who lived in Sungei Ujong was informed by letter by the Chief of her daughter-in-law's tribe. The mother arrived and claimed $150 worth of property that she had given to her son when he was coming to live with his wife here and which she stated he had brought to his wife's house. The *orang semenda* or male relations of the lady denied this saying that the property had never been declared to them as "*herta membawa*" which was necessary and that they altogether discredited the statement. After hearing a mass of contradictory evidence with good points on both sides, it was ruled that the mother would not have claimed without cause and awarded to her half the amount claimed.

A question of some importance and which has not yet been decisively settled is that of "*pencharian berdua,*" *i. e.,* the fortune acquired by husband and wife apart from "*herta membawa*" or "*herta pesaka.*"

The law runs "*chari b'hagi dapatan tinggal bawa kembalek.*" This cannot be translated literally, but it means that the money acquired by husband and wife must be divided, each person's share remain to each, and the husband's share must go back to his mother's house or to his "*anak buah,*" that is, his blood relations. That property of this kind should not go entirely to the children made a great deal of difficulty, as it is not in accordance with Muhammadan law and in Rembau the Chiefs decided that all property other than "*herta pesaka*" or "*herta membawa*" became unconditionally the property of the children and could not in any case return to the man's relations. It was ruled, however, that land should not be affected, coming as it does under "*herta pesaka*" and that weapons, ornaments and silver utensils which were "*herta pesaka*" must be returned. Also that "*herta membawa*" could still be claimed by the man's relations. In Jempol where the people are very Muhammadan also this has been adopted, I will relate a case, however, which created great discussion.

A man died the possessor of ten buffaloes. His child was a boy seven years old. The man's brother took the buffaloes back to his mother's house in order, it was supposed, to take care of them until his nephew came of age. The boy grew up and when he was about fifteen he claimed these buffaloes from his uncle, who would not satisfy his demand. The case came forward as the Chiefs could not settle it to the satisfaction of all parties.

The boy claimed the buffaloes. The uncle first said the buffaloes had died of disease. Enquiries were made and it was found that he possessed buffaloes. The boy said that even if the buffaloes had died of disease his uncle should have informed his mother's family. Then came the question of inheritance, trusteeship, and the guardianship of the buffaloes, finally the question of "*herta membawa.*" The uncle first urged that the boy's father had brought a number of buffaloes to his wife's house from his mother's house and that they should be returned. After a considerable enquiry it was found that there was no reliable evidence of this. Then the uncle claimed that according to the Malay rule, he being the caretaker of the buffaloes, was entitled to one-half of the buffaloes now that his nephew wished to divide. The boy said that his uncle had had no right to take the buffaloes. Then came the question of inheritance. The uncle said he only knew the old rule of "*chari bhagi dapatan tinggal bawak kembalek*" and claimed half the buffaloes. The boy said he knew that in Jempol the Muhammadan custom had been adopted that property acquired during marriage became the property of children and not of the "*anak buah;*" finally it was decided that half the buffaloes should be handed to the boy in satisfaction of all claims. It will be seen from this example how many rules there are in these States that may be brought forward in a case, in connection with which careful investigation is required. If, however, a dispute is carefully summed up and the points fully explained which lead to the decision, the public here is nearly always satisfied and the individual who loses his case has to be satisfied also.

In connection with inheritance by the children, of property acquired during married life, it is necessary for the children to pay their father's debts if there are any. If there is no property even the children are responsible for the debts of their father. Where the old rule is in force the "*tempat semenda*" and the "*tempat pesaka*" would have to arrange together to pay, and not only that but the "*anak buah*" were supposed to pay the funeral expenses of their male relation and not the "*orang semenda.*" It is still a question that has to be very carefully investigated in every case of debt, viz., as to whether one of the two should pay all.

The rules of "*pantang larang*" are important, minor laws on dress, on the architecture of houses, of covered gates to enclosures, of the firing of guns, the slaughtering of buffaloes and many other causes. For instance, no one but a Chief may have a covered gateway. No one but a Raja may put his kitchen behind the house, and no one but a Raja may run his front verandah round to the back. No man may wear all yellow nor all black. A quaint custom is that of "*gĕláran.*" When a man marries, the "*orang semenda*" of his wife assemble together. Here all property questions are brought forward and decided such as "*herta membawa,*" &c. The "*orang semenda*" then confer a title on the man, such as "*Mentri*" "*Si Maraja*" "*Peduka Raja*" "*Laksamana*" and many others.

It must be borne in mind though, in connection with all these customs and laws, that Muhammadan law is always present and is enforced in many cases, but it requires careful handling. Nothing is more distasteful to the people than that Muhammadan law should be applied where custom provides the remedy, and as the Kathi is generally anxious to exercise Muhammadan law only, great care has to be taken to prevent him from interfering in cases of custom.

What I have written may throw some light on the working of a curious constitution.

MARTIN LISTER.

# THE RULING FAMILY OF SELANGOR.

BY

W. E. MAXWELL, C.M.G.

*(Extracted from the Selangor Administration Report for 1889.)*

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3. There exists, in Malay, an interesting historical work entitled تحفة النافيس "Tuhfat-el-nafis," written in A. H. 1288, by Raja ALI, of Riouw, which treats of the later history of those Malay States, the royal houses of which have been founded or influenced by Bugis chiefs from the island of Celebes. These include Riouw, Linggi, Johor, Selangor, Siak, &c.

4. A long table of descent is given, which is mostly fabulous until it approaches modern times. In compiling the latter portion, the author has perhaps consulted Dutch publications.

5. The admixture of Bugis blood in the reigning families of the Malay kingdoms of the Straits of Malacca, seems to have commenced in the early part of the 18th century. It is related in the native chronicle above alluded to that *Upu Tanderi Burong*, a Bugis Raja in the island of Celebes (the third son of the first Bugis Raja who embraced Muhammadanism), had five sons :—

(1) *Daing Peani*, from whom (by his marriage in Siantak) the reighning family of Siak in Sumatra are descended. He also married princesses of the reigning Malay families in Johor, Selangor and Kedah.

(2) *Daing Menimbun*, from whom the Rajas of Pontianak, Matan and Brunei are descended.

(3) *Klana Jaya Putra* alias *Daing Merewah,* first Yang-di-per-Tuan Muda of Riouw. He married a daughter of Tumonggong ABDUL JALIL, of Johor. His son, KLANA INCHE UNAK, married in Selangor, and his daughter became the wife of her cousin DAING KAMOJA, the son of DAING PERANI (No. 1), and third Yang-di-per-Tuan Muda of Riouw.

(4) *Daing Chela* or *Daing Palai,* second Yang-di-per-Tuan Muda of Riouw. He married a daughter of Sultan ABDUL JALIL (sister of Sultan SULEIMAN BADR-ALAM SHAH) of Johor, and from the female issue of this marriage Sultan HUSSEIN of Singapore (1819) was descended. One of the sons of DAING CHELA, Raja LUMU, became the first Yang-di-per-Tuan of Selangor. From him the reigning family of Selangor is descended. Another, Raja HAJI, was the fourth Yang-di-per-Tuan Muda of Riouw and fell in battle at Malacca, fighting against the Dutch, in 1784.

(5) *Daing Kamasi,* married the sister of the Sultan of Sambas (Borneo) and his descendants have remained there.

6. Of these five chiefs, Nos. 1, 3 and 4 established themselves in Selangor about 1718, and Raja LUMU, the son of No. 4, was left there as ruler of the country. The principal head-quarters of the Bugis was Riouw, and about this time they made piratical raids upon all the western Malay States, one after another. Raja LUMU of Selangor, on the occasion of a visit to Perak, about 1743, was formally invested by the Sultan of Perak (MAHMUD SHAH) with the dignity of Sultan, and took the title of Sultan SALAEDDIN SHAH. His successor, Sultan IBRAHIM, (in 1783) joined with his brother, Raja HAJI, the Yang-di-per-Tuan Muda of Riouw, in an attack upon the Dutch in Malacca. They were repulsed, and Raja HAJI was killed. The Dutch under Admiral VAN BRAAM then attacked Selangor, and the Sultan fled inland and escaped to Pahang.

7. IBRAHIM, aided by the Dato Bandahara of Pahang, reconquered his fort from the Dutch in 1785, but the latter im-

mediately blockaded Kwala Selangor with two ships-of-war and after this blockade had lasted for more than a year the Sultan accepted a treaty by which he acknowledged their sovereignty and agreed to hold his kingdom of them.

8. British political relations with Selangor commenced in 1818, when a commercial treaty was concluded with this State by a British Commissioner, Mr. CRACROFT, on behalf of the Governor of Penang, and this was followed by "an agreement of peace and friendship," concluded with Sultan IBRAHIM SHAH, who was still reigning.

9. Sultan MOHAMMED succeeded Sultan IBRAHIM about the year 1826, and reigned until 1856. He was succeeded in the following year by Sultan ABDUL SAMAD, the present ruler.

10. Sultan ABDUL SAMAD is the son of Raja DOLAH, a younger brother of Sultan MOHAMMED, and at the time of the death of the latter, held the rank and office of Tunku Panglima Besar (Commander-in-Chief). His election to the sovereignty was chiefly the work of Raja JUMA'AT, of Lukut, then a flourishing mining settlement, now decayed and abandoned, who feared the exactions of the late Sultan's family. Sultan MOHAMMED had no less than 19 children, many of them illegitimate, and one of them, Raja MAHMUD (now Penghulu of Ulu Semonieh, a village in Selangor), had been recognised as Raja Muda in his father's life-time. He was only eight years old when Sultan MOHAMMED died. There were other claimants in the persons of various nephews of the late Sultan, sons of Raja USUP and Raja ABDURRAHMAN, who thought their rights stronger than those of the sons of Raja DOLAH. But the influence of Raja JUMA'AT prevented a war of succession.

11. The strong Bugis element in Selangor earned for the people of the State, in early days, the reputation of being the most daring and formidable of all the Malays on the west coast of the Peninsula. Their fleets were successful in Perak and Kedah (Alor Star in Kedah was taken and burned in 1770), and in a work published fifty years ago, Selangor is quaintly described as follows:—"of all the Malayan States "on the Peninsula, it labours under the heaviest *mala fama* on

"the score of piracy, man-stealing, manslaughter, and similar "peccadilloes of the code of Malayan morals."*

12. Of the Malay population of the State at the present day there is little to say, except to emphasize the contrast noted by an eminent authority† between "the frank simplicity and humour, harmonising well with a certain grave "dignified self-possession and genuine politeness, which characterise the manner of the Malays of Kedah, and the sinister and impudent bearing of the maritime and semi-piratical "Malay of the South."‡

There is now a large population, of settlers from Sumatra and Java, who are influencing materially the character of the Muhammadan population.

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* Moors's Notices, p. 243.

† The late Mr. J. R. Logan.

‡ Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. xvi, p. 321.

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# THE SPHINGIDÆ OF SINGAPORE,

BY

LIEUTENANT H. J. KELSALL, R.A.

FOR any one living in a place like Singapore, and who has any spare time on his hands, it is a great thing to have a hobby. It matters little what this hobby is, but for one whose business keeps him indoors most of the day as happens to many in this Colony, some hobby that will take them out of doors is the best. Such a one is the study of entomology, which has many advantages. It can be carried on at any time; it incurs little expense; it employs both mind and body; and opens up a large field for thought and investigation. This field as well as being large is exceedingly varied, and if worked systematically and scientifically will afford unending enjoyment to the student. In this paper I hope to give a brief sketch of what may be done in the near neighbourhood of Singapore in one branch only of this interesting science, namely, in the collection and study of the hawk moths.

All that is needed in the way of gear is a net, a killing bottle, a small pith-lined box and pins for collecting, and a few setting boards and store boxes for preserving the insects.

Our hunting ground is the nearest flower-bed, amongst the best flowers being honeysuckle, vinca and Barleria, and for humming birds lantana, papaw and the tembusu tree (*Fagrea peregrina*, Wall). Moth-catching may sound tame, but it is genuine sport, requiring a true and quick eye and ready hand, and often is quite exciting.

The *Sphingidæ,* or hawk moths, the finest and most interesting group of moths, are fairly well represented in the Island of Singapore. Like most moths they are crepuscular or nocturnal in their habits, few appearing before dusk.

Their flight is strong and swift, and the movement of the wings very rapid giving rise to a humming noise, which in the case of the humming bird hawks has given them their popular name.

As would be expected in swift-flying insects, their wings are long, narrow and pointed, with a strong rigid costa, and their bodies more or less fusiform, which renders their passage through the air more easy.

In all the hawks the proboscis is of great length, in order to enable them to reach the juice at the bottom of the long tubes of the flowers they frequent. In the green elephant (*Pergesa acteus*) this organ attains to 2½ times the length of the body.

Each species has one or more favourite flowers which it frequents.

From sundown till dark—the humming birds appearing half an hour earlier—they may be seen darting from flower to flower and ever and anon pausing motionless but for the swift movement of the wings, which appear but as a shadow on each side before a flower from which, by means of their long slender proboscis they are drinking the nectar. They scarcely ever touch the flowers with their feet and never alight on them, but depend entirely on their wings for support. As soon as they have exhausted the supply of honey in one flower off they dart to another, where they repeat the same process.

*Sphinx convolvuli* has been known to come into a lighted room and go round to the flowers in vases drinking the honey.

Several species come to light and one or two are rarely taken any other way, for instance, the death's head and oleander. The latter has been taken in considerable numbers at the beam of a powerful electric light which was being worked in the neighbourhood of some jungle.

These moths probably play an important part in the fertilization of the plants they frequent.

Whether they remain on the wing all night is difficult to say. They appear to leave the flower-beds soon after dark, as they fill themselves very rapidly with honey. I have, however, taken *Diludia discistriga* at *Crinum asiaticum* as late as 10 p. m.

In the daytime they remain concealed amongst the foliage of trees and bushes. They are sometimes taken at rest on the trunks of trees or in corners of rooms whither they have probably been attracted by the light in the evenings. They seem to be very sensitive to the state of the weather and the moon and on moonlight nights few are to be seen at the flower-beds. Fine evenings after rain are usually the most favourable for observing them.

Like many other insects these moths are liable to be attacked by a species of internal fungus.

Three at least of this family of moths—*Acherontia medusa A. morta* and *Diludia discistriga*—make a squeaking. sound.

It is noticeable that all the species taken in Singapore are larger than the same as given in MOORE'S "Lepidoptera of Ceylon," where most of them are described and figured.

The following is a list of the species recorded from Singapore:—

SUB-FAMILY—*Sphingidæ.*
    *Protoparce orientalis* (*Sphinx convolvuli*).
    *Diludia discistriga.*

SUB-FAMILY—*Acherontiinæ* (Death's heads).
    *Acherontia medusa.*
    *A. morta.*

SUB-FAMILY.—*Smerinthinæ.*
    One or two species.

SUB-FAMILY.—*Chœrocampinæ.*
    *Chœrocampa celerio.*
    *Chœrocampa Silhetensis.*
    *C. Rafflesi.*
    *C. theylia.*
    *C. Lucasii.*
    *C. tenebrosa* (?).
    *Pergesa acteus.*

*C. nessus.*
*Calymnia panopus.*
And two or three other species probably new.

SUB-FAMILY.—*Macroglossinæ* (Humming birds).
*Hemaris hylas.*
*M. luteata.*
*M. insipida.*

The convolvulus hawk (*Sphinx convolvuli*) is the commonest. It may be taken at almost any season, but is more plentiful at some times than at others.

This moth may almost always be taken at honeysuckles and when *Faradaya papuana* is in flower one may be sure of obtaining large numbers at it. In fact they are so fond of it that I have taken as many as three at a single stroke of the net, and fifteen or twenty in one night is not an exceptional take. The caterpillar feeds on the Tembusu tree.

*Diludia discistriga* closely resembles the foregoing species in general appearance and habits, but is larger, darker and has no red on its body and does not fly quite so rapidly. It is not nearly so common as *S. convolvuli.* In fact, except at certain limited times, it is rare.

Next come the death's heads (*Acherontiinæ*) represented by two species. These are large handsome moths whose principal colouring consists of black and yellow. They are usually taken at light. I have not yet heard of their being taken at flowers.

By far the largest proportion of the species recorded from Singapore are comprised in the sub-family *Choerocampinæ.* The largest and one of the finest of this sub-family is *Calymnia panopus*, the female of which is over 6″ in span.

Another beautiful member of this family is *Chœrocampa nessus*, one of the handsomest hawks, its beautiful form and splendid green and golden orange tints rendering it conspicuous. The fore wings, dark green at the costal edge, shade off into the softest of browns, fawn and grey; the hind wings being deep glossy black contrasted with pale fawn. The abdomen is green down the centre of the back with a broad golden stripe down each side. The underside of the wings is a beautiful combination of reds, yellows and greys, which almost rivals the autumn tints of the birch.

Then we have the beautiful *Celerio*, distinguished by its rows of silver spots down each side of the body. It is common on *Barleria flava* and *Vinca rosea* (Madagascar peri winkle).

*Isoples Rafflesii* and *I. Theylia* resemble one another in general appearance, but *Theylia* is smaller and paler. These are common on *Barleria* and *Vinca*.

*Pergesa acteus,* more commonly known as the green elephant, is a beautiful insect. Its fore-wings are of a dark green colour. It is found on the same flowers as *Theylia* and *Celerio.*

Of the *Macroglossinæ* the most remarkable is *Hemaris hylas*, which frequents the coffee plantations, the larvæ feeding on the coffee tree, where it often does much damage. It has also been taken on lantana. The chief peculiarity of this moth is in its wings, which are quite transparent like those of a bee.

The other humming birds are most plentiful at lantana and the tembusu (*Fagrea peregrina*) when in flower. The male flowers of the papaw are also a great attraction. The members of this sub-family do not remain out after dark.

There is much yet to be found out as to the form and habits of the larvæ and pupæ of these moths, and there are probably new species to be found and described, so that there is ample scope, for any one taking up the subject to add to what is already known.

# THE BURMANNIACEÆ OF THE MALAY PENINSULA.

BY

H. N. RIDLEY, M.A., F.L.S.

THE curious little plants known as *Burmanniaceæ*, though distributed over the whole tropical world, seems to be most abundant in the Malayan region. A large number of very extraordinary forms have been described and figured by Professor BECCARI, in "Malesia," vol. i, from the specimens collected by him in Borneo, New Guinea and other Malayan islands. Only three kinds are included in the "Flora of British India" from the Malayan Peninsula, but these are not all that occur here. At present seven species are known to be found within this region, representing three genera, and more will surely be found as the botany of the Peninsula is worked up. These plants are constantly neglected by collectors, as they are usually difficult to find and very inconspicuous, and furthermore some of them require to be preserved in spirits of wine, being indeed so succulent that they shrivel up to nothing when an attempt is made to dry them. They should be carefully sought for in deep forests, at the roots of large and old trees. Frequently two or three kinds grow in one spot. Thus if *Burmannia tuberosa* is found growing in the jungle, it is probable that *Gymnosiphon* and perhaps *Thismia* are close at hand, and should be carefully looked for.

The three genera which are found in the Peninsula are *Burmannia*, five species; *Gymnosiphon* and *Thismia* one each. The *Burmannias* may be divided into two sections—saprophytic and non-saprophytic. The latter grow in open places, among grass, etc., the former in the dense jungle as aforesaid, among dead leaves. Like all true saprophytes they have no green leaves, but the whole plant is white or yellowish, with the leaves reduced to scales. *Thismia* and *Gymnosiphon* are also saprophytic. The plants of the former genus are peculiarly soft and succulent and very curiously shaped. Two species occur in Singapore.

*Gymnosiphon* is an exceedingly delicate and fragile plant with a slender wiry stem about three inches tall and little violet flowers.

The relations of these little plants with other orders is still most obscure. Hitherto they have been associated with orchids, owing to a misconception as to the structure of the seed. It is probable that they are most nearly related to the *Liliaceæ*, and especially the curious *Taccaceæ* of which the so-called black Chendrian Lily (*Atacca cristata*) is a common plant in our jungles.

BURMANNIA.—Five species are known from the Peninsula, viz., *B. longifolia* (Becc.), *B. disticha* (Linn) and *B. cœlestis* (Don.), non-saprophytes; and *B. tuberosa*, (Becc.), and *B. gracilis*, Ridl. saprophytes. The first two of these are alpine plants growing on the high mountains of Perak and Mount Ophir, and both are apparently perennials. *B. cœlestis* (Don.), is a small annual, very common in grassy spots.

B. LONGIFOLIB (Becc.), Malesia, i, 244, t. 13, fig. 1-5; Flora of British India, vol. vi, p. 664.

A perennial plant with a tall, leafy stem creeping at the base, the leaves are narrow and grass-like, acute, recurved. The flower-spike erect, with two short branches at the top covered with nodding whitish yellow flowers half-an-inch long. The wings of the flower, so large in *B. cœlestis*, are very small and obscure.

Perak and also Borneo and Java.

B. DISTICHA (Linn., Sp., Pl. 287) has a distinct creeping stem like that of the preceding, but shorter and the leaves are tufted at the base. They are about three inches long, grassy and pointed, about ¼ inch across. The whole plant is a foot and-a-half tall, and the stem terminates in an erect forked cyme with branches about 1½ inch long and almost sessile flowers. The flowers are large and blue, erect, twenty on a branch.

about half an inch long, with very distinct wings. The sepals are fleshy, linear lanceolate. The petals nearly as large, blunt. The stamens are sessile at the base of the petals with a very distinct bilobed dentate crest. The anther cells far apart, reniform. The style rather stout, the three stigmas fairly large. The ovary is very large in proportion to the size of the flower, a good deal longer than the style.

This is a widely distributed plant in the Tropics of Asia, occurring in mountainous districts from Nepaul throughout India to Ceylon, Sumatra and China and Australia. At present it has only been gathered on Mount Ophir in the Malay Peninsula, but it will certainly be found in other of our mountain regions.

B. CŒLESTIS (Don.) is a very widely distributed little annual. It is very common in grassy spots along roadsides. I have seen great plenty of it along the road towards Pasir Panjang, and it is also very common in the turf in the Botanic Gardens. It is not, however, always to be met with, being an annual in the strict sense, that is, it only lives till it has flowered and fruited, and then immediately dies. In Europe, where the growing season is so short, it would probably be literally an annual, and live throughout the summer, dying down in autumn or winter as so many English plants do, but as there is really no time when plants cannot grow here, this little Dragon's-scales appears whenever the weather suits it, lives a short life, of perhaps a month or two, and disappears again. It generally appears after heavy rains when the weather begins to get finer, and then the ground is often dotted all over with it.

The whole plant is about three to four inches tall, sometimes as much as six inches, often, in poor soil, much smaller. It has a simple slender stem with a tuft of narrow pointed leaves at the base, and one, more rarely two, and still more rarely three or more flowers, about half an inch long at the top. These flowers have the typical *Burmannia* shape, that is to say, they are urn-shaped with three thin wings running for the whole of the length. At the top are three little sepals, and alternating with these three minute petals. The stamens and pistil are quite hidden in the urn. The flower is of an exquisite lilac-blue, with yellow sepals. The stamens are fixed to the side of the urn and each consists of an anther, the two cells of which are oval in shape, and split transversely. They are separated by a broad connective which is crested above, and beneath prolonged into a kind of tooth. The style is slender, and ends in three short arms terminated by heart-shaped stigmas. The fruit is a capsule.

B CŒLESTIS (Don. Prod., 44), *B. azurea* (Griff.), *B. javanica* (Bl.), *B. triflora* (Roxb.), *Cryptonema malaccensis* (Turcz), *Nephrocœlium malaccensis* (Turcz), Malay "sisik naga" (Dragon's scales). Widely distributed over India, Mauritius, China, Malaysia and North Australia.

Common in the Malay Peninsula. Singapore--near Pasir Panjang, Tanglin, Changi and other places. Malacca—Merlimau, Pulau Besar. Pahang—Pekan, Kwala Pahang. Penang,—Telok Bahang (C. Curtis). Labuan (Bishop Hose). Borneo, (Beccari).

B. TUBEROSA (Becc.) was described from specimens found by Professor BECCARI in Borneo and New Guinea; nor had any other person, as far as I am aware, ever collected it till I found it growing plentifully in a damp jungle at Chan Chu Kang not very far away from the Selitar bungalow, and I afterwards met with it at Pataling on the Kwala Lumpur Railway in a similar locality. With it, in both places, I found the very curious *Thismia fumida* and also a much commoner plant, *Sciaphila tenella*. It is a very different looking plant to *Burmannia cœlestis*, owing to its saprophytic habits. It is fleshy and, except for the sepals, entirely pure white, about three inches long, but for fully three quarters of its length it is buried in the rotten leaves among which it, like other saprophytes, dwells. It has a small, oblong tuber at the base from which arise a few root hairs. The stem has a few little lanceolate leaves like scales upon it, and the flowers are crowded in a tuft upon the top. They are quite small, and the wings, which are large in *Burmannia cœlestis*, are very obscure here and have almost entirely disappeared. The sepals are bright cowslip yellow, and though the flowers are small and only one or two open at a time, it is really a very pretty little plant and, as BECCARI observes, is sweetly scented.

Singapore—Chan Chu Kang. Bukit Timah near the well of the bungalow. Selangor—Pataling.

B. GRACILIS, n. sp. was discovered by Mr. CURTIS at Tintow in Kedah in 1889, and is apparently an undescribed species. Like *B. tuberosa* it is saprophytic and inhabits dense jungle. The whole plant is from six inches to a foot tall, with a slender branched stem, on which are a few narrow lanceolate scale-like leaves ⅛ inch long. The inflorescence is a branched cyme, the branches of which are about ¾ of an inch long, the flowers few, seven or eight in number, white, pedicelled. The pedicels a quarter of an inch long with lanceolate acute bracts nearly as long (about ¾ of the length). The perianth is a quarter of an inch long, elliptic in outline with distinct but not very large wings. The sepals are small, ovate, lanceolate; the petals very much smaller, short and blunt. The upper part of the connective of the anther is bilobed, the lobes denticulate rounded not very dissimilar to those of *B. cœlestis*, but rounder, the anther cells are prolonged into somewhat long points, and the central tooth does not descend below them. The style is long, the stigmas reniform, the ovary small, the seeds fusiform acute at both ends.

GYMNOSIPHON is also a saprophytic genus, of which a considerable number of species are widely scattered over the tropical zones. In texture they are more like some of the *Burmannias*, being very fragile and delicate and not fleshy like *Thismia*. The common species here, I thought at first, might be BLUME'S *G. aphyllum*, of which the description is too meagre really to distinguish it. But on examining the herbarium and library of Buitenzorg, where many of BLUME'S types are kept, I found a little rough sketch of BLUME'S plant signed by himself, which is quite unlike our species. There was no specimen in the herbarium. BECCARI in "Malesia" (i., p. 241,) described and figured *G. borneense* from Borneo and *G. papuanum* from New Guinea; BLUME'S *G. aphyllum* comes from Java. According to BLUME'S sketch it has two large bracts at the base of the flower, which does not occur in our species. I have little doubt that the latter is BECCARI'S *G. borneense* although that is represented as rather fleshier and thicker in the stem than the Straits plant.

G. BORNEENSE (Becc.) Malesia, i, 241, Pl. xiv, fig. 5-9). A slender, wiry plant, exceedingly fragile and delicate, about 2 or

3 inches tall, branched and quite leafless except for a few scales. The inflorescence is branched, and the flowers, which are shortly stalked, are arranged on one side of the branches. The whole plant is whitish, except the flower, which is of a pale violet colour. The little flowers are tubular with no wings, and have six small spreading oval perianth-lobes. The fruit is a capsule, covered with the tubular part of the corolla, which becomes skeletonised as the fruit ripens and looks like a network covering it. The seeds are very numerous, dark brown, very small, subglobose with the ends drawn out into short points and covered with low warts or bosses.

It grows in Singapore at Chan Chu Kang and Bukit Timah, in Selangor at Pataling, and in Malacca on Bukit Sadanen. It is found in the densest parts of the forest, and is very fond of appearing on newly cut paths through the forest.

THISMIA.—This genus contains perhaps the most remarkable plants in the order, and indeed some of the most curious of th Malayan region. They are succulent, fugacious herbs, yellow, grey, or red, but never green, and would be taken for fungi by an ordinary observer. About six kinds have been described, of which the most striking forms have been met within Borneo and New Guinea, but other species occur in Ceylon, Burma and Tasmania. They are usually to be met with in damp forests among the dead leaves on the ground, and especially at the foot of old trees. As they are so fleshy and delicate they require to be preserved in spirits of wine, in which, however, though keeping their form unaltered, they become pure white.

Two species are to be found in Singapore, one of which *Th. Aseroe* was collected by Professor BECCAR Iat Woodlands near Kranji, and has since been found by myself on Bukit Timah. The other is an undescribed species, which I have met with both in Singapore and Selangor, but very rarely, and for which I propose the name of *Th. fumida* on account of its smoky colour.

THISMIA ASEROE, (Becc., Malesia, vol. i, p. 252, Plate 10). A small herbaceous succulent plant about 2 or 3 inches tall with a creeping white rhizome emitting at intervals small tufts of rather thick short roots and flower-stems. Flower-stems solitary sometimes branched with a few scattered bract-like lanceolate leaves. Flowers terminal and single on each branch, about half an inch long, orange yellow with two lanceolate acute bracts at the base, lower portion of flower tubular obconic, yellow becoming olivaceous brown with a raised reticulate pattern in the interior, which is visible externally when the flower is withering or preserved in alcohol; limb of flower, consists of six segments arranged in a circle and spreading bases triangular from a narrow ring, flat, then suddenly becoming serrate, tubulate, between each a minute extra process. In the centre of the flower is a raised flat-topped ring, surrounding the mouth. The stamen are arranged round the walls of the tube pendulous from a short filament at the top, so that the anthers are on the inner surface next to the walls of the tube. They are of the form of oblong scales, ending below in three acute subulate processes, the largest in the middle; on the inner face are the two narrow linear anthers; opening longitudinally from between them arises a quadrate organ with erose sides. The edges of the stamens meet so as to form a continuous ring. The style is short reddish and scabrid with three very small stigmas. In fruiting the stem thickens and lengthens. The fruit is a cup-shaped capsule light brown, fleshy ribbed, the edges of which project some way above the top of the ovary which when ripe falls off in the form of a small round plate terminated by the style. The seeds are very numerous elliptic oblong in outline and blunt, brown is ribbed.

Singapore, Bukit Timah, near the well. September, 1890; Woodlands, Kranji (Beccari).

Like other saprophytes, this beautiful little plant has a habit of appearing spasmodically and equally suddenly disappearing. In September last I was surprised to find the ground by the stream at Bukit Timah dotted all over with the little yellow stars of this plant appearing from among the dead leaves. I brought a number of plants home and kept them alive under a glass shade for some months, although in the jungle all had disappeared in a week. The rhizomes under cultivation were long persistent and continued to throw up flower stems. The flowers, however, did not produce fruit, but withered away, and from this and from the peculiar arrangement of the stamens it appears they require the aid of some insect-fertilizer. After fertilization the tube of the flower falls off leaving the basal portion in the form of a cup which increases in size. When the seed is ripe the whole of the top of the ovary becomes detached and with the seeds falls out upon the soil as the fruit becomes too heavy and weighs down its stalk.

THISMIA FUMIDA. n. sp.

A small succulent herbaceous plant more slender and much less conspicuous than the preceding about four inches in height. Rhizome brownish with slender solitary stems bearing one or two flowers. Stems at first whitish, becoming brown when in fruit, with a very small scattered lanceolate acuminate leaves. Flowers much smaller than in *Th. Aseroe* $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch long and nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch across. The tube almost globose, scabrid narrowed above the ovary and becoming broader above white with pink stripes. The limb consists of six narrow lanceolate acuminate lobes becoming subulate gradually. They rise directly from beneath the central raised ring and there is no outer ring nor small processes as in *Th. Aseroe.* They are greenish grey in colour. The central ring slopes inwards and is not raised above the limb except by its own thickness.

The style is very short with three small recurved stigmas. The capsule is shorter and broader than in the preceding a quarter of an inch each way, the edge crenulate, the outside scabrid, and ribbed. The opening of the ovary half way down the cup is $\frac{1}{8}$ inch across.

Singapore, Chan Chu Kang: Selangor, near Pataling.

Rare and spasmodic at the roots of trees. It is very difficult to find on account of its inconspicuous colours. It is quite easily distinguished by its more slender habit, colour smaller size of the flowers. And the other points mentioned in the description.

## TABLE OF SPECIES.

Ovary three-celled, Stamens three,...Burmannia.
Non-saprophytes. Leaves narrow green.
Stem long, creeping, ...B. longifolia.

Stem short, flowers numerous, ...B. disticha.
Annual, flowers few, ...B. cœlestis.
Saprophytes. Leaf reduced to scales.
Flowers crowded in a head, ...B tuberosa.
Flowers scattered on slender branches, ... ...B. gracilis.
Ovary one-celled, Stamens three, ...Gymnosiphon borneense.
Plant fragile whitish.
Ovary one-celled, Stamens six,
Plant succulent brownish. ...Thismia.
Flowers bright yellow. ...Th. Aseroe.
Flowers grey. ...Th. fumida.

# ON THE SO-CALLED TIGER'S MILK "SUSU RIMAU" OF THE MALAYS.

BY

H. N. RIDLEY, M.A., F.L.S.

While staying recently at Pekan I procured, through the kindness of Mr. RODGER, a fine specimen of the remarkable vegetable production, known to the Malays here as "Susu Rimau." The tradition is that it is the congealed milk of the tiger, and it is stated to produce eventually a climbing plant. It is considered a valuable medicine for asthma and other chest complaints, and is sold in the bazaars at a high price. The specimen given me by Mr. RODGER was considered a very large one, being about four inches cube, but a later one was brought in from the forests at Bukit Mandai in Singapore which is even larger, being six inches in length and three inches through in the thickest part. Professor VAUGHAN STEPHENS gave me also a smaller specimen from the interior of Pahang.

The structure and appearance of all seem very much the same. Each consists of an irregular white mass lobed and cracked all over, covered with a thin rind, terra-cotta red in the fresh specimen, browner when older. When fresh the interior is of the consistency of cheese, white, scentless, and with a faint funguslike taste. When dryer, and in old specimens it becames chalky and vimer.

Under the microscope a section shows it to be a very compact mass of fungus threads (mycelium) with which are mixed innumerable globose cells. In the fresh specimen from Bukit Mandai the mycelium is very scanty, and in all it is very much less in quantity than the white globose cells.

Through the mass runs a fine whiter network visible with the naked eye, which consists of chains of cells with more granular opaque contents. The red rind consists of a very fine granular layer, in which I cannot perceive any cellstructure.

It is very certain from this that it is no animal structure, and that it is very improbable that the climbing plant supposed to be produced by it has anything to do with it, but that it is of the nature of a fungus. The Malays say that it is found under ground, but the specimen obtained at Bukit Mandai, was growing upon a rotten tree, and to it was attached a fungus of the genus Polyporus, species of which are so abundant on rotten timber in the jungles.

Some similar bodies are known from several parts of the world, and have been described, but at present their origin is very obscure, and I think it will be well to compare the known kinds with our Tiger's Milk, and see wherein it differs.

RUMPHIUS described and figured a fungus which he called Tuber Regium, in the Herbarium Amboinense (Vol. VI Plate LVII 4, p. 120). The picture represents a body like a smooth block of earth on which a number of fungi evidently belonging to the genus Lentinus are growing. RUMPHIUS gives a long account of the "Royal Tuber." He says it is very common in April and October when the rainy season is on, and that then it is quite soft and not durable, and although his picture represents it as quite smooth, he says that when suddenly dried, it becomes cracked and fissured: when he planted it in his garden and watered it with warm water it produced the fungi, but perished next year. The Lentinus is eatable, but hardly worth eating. The tuber he recommends for diarrhea grated and mixed with rice and also mixed with oil as an ointment for sore mouths. Eaten raw he says it is insipid and earthy. He gives the following names for it, none of which occur in FILET'S Javanese Dictionary:—Malay, *Ubi Raja*, and *Culat Batu*, Amboinese *Mathata Utta batu* and *Uttah putih*. In Hitoe it is called *Tabalale* (without heart), and in Uliassens, *Urupickal*. In Java *Djanjor bongkang* (dung of the Python); in Ternate *Cabamaisse* (earth-tuber). It was common in Oma, Leytimor, Gorama and Ternate under grass on the mountains and at the roots of tall trees. He compares it with the Chinese plant now called Fuhling (Pachyma Cocos). This is a well known Chinese drug of a very similar nature to our Tiger's Milk, and which is probably also the same as the Tuckahœ or Indian Bread of North America. I obtained a specimen of the Chinese Fuhling in the Singapore market. It is sold in the drug shops, and appears to have some reputation as a medecine. The plant differs somewhat from the Susu Rimau, and I should imagine is a different species. It is more regular in shape, resembling a large truffle externally with a cracked brown skin darker coloured than that of the Tiger's Milk. The interior is a little more mealy in texture, but perhaps this is due to the age of the specimen, and the rind is thicker. In section the microscope shows that there are the fungus threads as in the Susu Rimau, but that the globose cells are represented in great measure by amorphous granular masses. The white substance of Pachyma is stated by Professor BERKELEY to consist of masses of pectine traversed by mycelium threads, and the whole thing to be of the nature of a sclerotium, that is to say, a fungus in a resting state. Mr. G. MURRAY, in a paper read before the Linnean Society in 1886, described a sclerotium upon which a Lentinus was growing somewhat as in RUMPHIUS' picture which was brought from Samoa in the Fiji Islands by Mr. WHITMEE. This he thought at first might be identical with the Pachyma. Microscopic examination, however, showed no pectine in the Samoan plant, which consisted merely of a mass of fungus threads, and in fact was a typical Sclerotium.

Our plant is, however, somewhat more than this, as the proportion of fungus threads to the white globose cells is so very small. It is evidently more closely allied to Pachyma, but I think is quite distinct from that specifically and may indeed be RUMPHIUS' long-lost Tuber Regium.

The Bukit Mandai mass was partially encrusting a piece of rotten timber, and from it apparently grew a stalked Polyporus of large size. I thought at first that I had got hold of the fungus that produced the Susu Rimau, and was much surprised to find it was a Polyporus, and not a Lentinus, but a section showed that the mycelium of the Polyporus was growing partly on the wood and partly over the Tiger's Milk and there was not only no mingling of the two bodies, but their microscopic structure was totally different. In that of the Polyporus there were no round globose cells, but a mere mass of mycelium threads as in an ordinary Sclerotium, so that the growth of the Polyporus upon the Susu Rimau is a mere accident, and we have again to seek for the fungus which produces this Tiger's Milk.

The plant is evidently not a very rare one and is well known to the Malays, so that if some of those whose business leads them into the jungles of the Peninsula will make enquiries about it, we may hope ere long to obtain the fungus it produces and settle definitely its name and life history.

# ON THE HABITS OF THE CARINGA.

## (FORMICA GRACILIPES, *GRAY.*)

BY

H. N. RIDLEY, M.A., F.L.S.

Every person in the Straits must be acquainted with the ferocious red ant commonly known as the Caringa, but although it is so abundant, and obnoxious, it seems that its ferocity and the sharpness of its bite are almost all the facts generally known about it. It is, however, a very interesting animal, not only on account of its peculiar intelligence and courage, but also on account of its remarkable nest-building. I cannot find that the methods of making leaf nests as practiced by the Caringa has ever been described, and as it is very curious I will here submit some account of it. The nests are built in the leaves of any tree suitable to the ants, provided that the leaves are not too stiff to bend, or too small to fasten together conveniently. Usually a tree is selected which is attacked by one of the scale insects upon the honey-like exudations of which these ants live to a large extent. If possible the nest is built over leaves or stems infested by the scale insects, so as to include them in the nest, and in any case other scale insects are carried into the nest for the food supply when requisite. When the food supply is finished, the ants leave the nest and go to another tree.

When a nest is to be built a number of ants seize one edge of a leaf in their jaws and by sticking the claws of the hind legs into an adjoining leaf steadily draw the two edges together. Usually one ant commences the work; then others come up and assist, till finally a large number can be seen holding on tightly. The structure of the legs is evidently adapted for this work, as they are remarkably long and furnished with very sharp hooked claws. If the edges of the two leaves are still too far apart, and one ant cannot reach both edges a chain is made. One ant grasps one edge with its jaws, another seizes him gently but firmly by the notch above the abdomen in its jaws. A third repeats the operation on the second and holds the second leaf by its hind claws. In this manner the leaves are gradually pulled together till the edges almost or entirely meet. The ants can remain in this strained position for a very long time, but usually in a few minutes others come up and commence to sew the leaves together with silk. This is done in the following way. One or two ants come from the interior of the nest, each bearing a larva in its mouth, the tail of the larva pointing outwards. They then commence by applying the tail end of the grub to the edge of one leaf irritating it by quivering the antennœ over and upon it. The grub emits a thread of silk which is fixed apparently by the antennœ of ant to the leaf-edge. The sewer then runs across to the other leaf drawing the thread from the grub and fixing it there, and thus it goes backwards and forwards from leaf-edge to leaf-edge till a strong web of silk binds the two leaves together. No silk is used in lining the nest, but any holes or spaces between the leaves, are closed with a curtain of silk. When a grub's silk-producing power is exhausted, it is taken back to the interior of the nest and another one fetched. The rapidity with which the work is done is wonderful. I partially opened a nest on a Velvet apple tree (*Diospyros discolor*) tearing open a space at one end about four inches each way, by raising one of the leaves which had previously been sewn to two others. The ants seemed much excited, but soon recommenced to repair the damage. First one, then another, and eventually ten or a dozen seized the edge of the leaf in the way above described and began to pull it back into the old position. The operation took about ten minutes. The leaf seemed to move by short slight jerks, but slowly and steadily. Just as they had got it close to the other leaf, a gust of wind blew it open again and the ants had to recommence. In less than a quarter of an hour the leaves were again held in apposition and the sewing had begun.

In the interior of the nest, the larvœ seem to be put down any how, in a pile in the centre. The rest of the ants remain in the middle of the nest crowded together, and all manner of things, such as insects, bits of meat, etc., are brought in and devoured. Scale insects too are carried up into the nest, and thrown down anyhow, generally wrong way up. In two or three nests I have seen mud and gravel brought up and deposited; in one made of the leaves of a caryota palm at the lowest end and at a point where the leaves did not actually touch, the aperture was filled up with a quantity of small stones and red mud agglutinated together with some wet slimy substance. It is possible that this was destined to weight down that end of the nest.

The courage of the Caringa is marvellous. It does not scruple to attack any insect however large. I once witnessed a fight between an army of Caringas who tenanted the upper part of a fig tree, and advancing crowd of a much larger kind of black ants. The field of battle was a large horizontal bough about 5 feet from the ground. The Caringas standing alert on their tall legs were arranged in masses awaiting the onset of the enemy. The black ants charged singly at any isolated Caringa and tried to bite it in two with their powerful jaws. If successful the Caringa was borne off to the nest at the foot of the tree. The red ant on the other hand attempted always to seize the black ant and hold on to it, so that its formic acid might take effect in the body of its enemy. If it got a hold on the black ant the latter soon succumbed and was borne off to the nest in the top of the tree. Eventually the Caringas retreated to their nest, and the last who left the field was one who had lost one leg and the abdomen in the fight, but notwithstanding this I saw it alone charge and repulse three black ants one after the other, before it left the field.

I believe these ants are cannibals, at least they carry away dead ones into their nests, and commence sucking the bodies. When an ant is slightly wounded they do not kill it, but pull it about and nibble it, but if fatally wounded they bear it off to their nests and probably eat it. Besides other insects, meat and general animal food, they live as I have said, upon the honey of the scale insects. They suck this honey until they become so distended as to be almost transparent and on meeting with others not so provided they spit the honey with much waving of legs and antennœ into their mouths.

# A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MALAYA,*

## FROM JANUARY, 1888, TO JUNE, 1890.

BY

C. DAVIES SHERBORN, F.Z.S., F.G.S.

In compiling this Bibliography, all sources of information have been utilized. In inserting, therefore, every publication that has come under his notice, the compiler hopes that the entries will prove of considerable assistance; but, as a large proportion of the literature of this district, either never reaches England at all, or else arrives so long after as to be too late for examination for this purpose, he begs the reader's indulgence for any error that may be present. His thanks are are due to M. Martinus Nijhoff of The Hague for information as to some of the more recent books.

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* By "Malaya" is here meant that part of the Archipelago enclosed in a line drawn round the North of Siam and the Philippines, through Macassar Strait between Lombok and Bali, round the outlying Islands of Java and Sumatra and to the East of Nicobar and Andaman Islands.

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# OCCASIONAL NOTES.

## COCO-NUT BEETLES.

Mr. HALE of Tampin sends the following notes about the coco-nut beetles, which seem worth recording:—"The natives here (Tampin) have the following names for this insect in the larval stage—*Lembetah* and *Kelematah*. The latter means that which tickles the eye (sight being understood), and the former is probably derived from it." Kēlēmata, originally Gĕlē mata, may, he thinks, be derived in the following way:—"Malay women are generally slightly hysterical, and seeing a lump of these larvæ wriggling about in a vessel would make a Malay woman squirm (I can find no better word) and would give her a feeling of being tickled which she would so express. The large millipede I have known to cause the same sensation to Malay men who are particularly nervous." This suggestion seems quite a possible one for the derivation. One may compare FORBES'S account of his throwing a woman into a state of *latah*, by flicking a caterpillar upon her, and I have known a syce unable to look at a death's head caterpillar which I was carrying without violent shuddering and horror.

Mr. HALE adds:—"The larvæ are very much relished by Malays, and I myself ate several of them and found them particularly sweet and nice, having a flavour like a fried filbert. The way to cook them is to put them alive into a pan over a slow fire and fry them until they are crisp. In the process of cooking they exude a quantity of a clear sweet nutty-flavoured oil (100 larvæ will yield about half a pint). This is believed by Malay women to be a most excellent hair-oil, and is much used by them for that purpose to encourage the growth of girls' hair. The perfect insect is called *Kumbang Jenti, Kumbang Kalapa* and *Buang,* but all of these names are applied indifferently to other large beetles."

## MOSQUITO LARVÆ IN THE PITCHERS OF NEPENTHES.

Towards the end of last year, on examining the contents of a pitcher of the common pitcher plant (*Nepenthes ampullacea,* Jack) which was growing in the jungle in the Botanic Gardens, I was surprised to find three larvæ of one of the mosquitos living and apparently thriving in the water of the pitcher. Carefully cutting off the pitcher and keeping it in a bottle, I succeeded, in two or three days, in rearing two of the larvæ to maturity. That mosquito larvæ are not very particular as to the water they live in is known to every one who has ever watched them, but it is certainly very remarkable to find them living and thriving in the liquid in the Nepenthes, which is so speedily fatal to any other insect which chances to fall in.

## MATONIA PECTINATA IN THE KARIMON ISLANDS.

During a short trip recently made to the Karimon islands, I came across a great quantity of *Matonia pectinata,* growing with *Dipteris Lobbiana* and *D. Horsfieldii,* near the waterfall, which is certainly not more than 500 feet above sea level. This rare fern is not known to grow elsewhere at a lower altitude than 2,000 feet. *Dipteris Horsfieldii,* itself so abundant on the shores here near Kranji, in Johor, Toas, Pasir Panjang, etc., is an alpine or subalpine plant only in Java growing at about 4,000 feet altitude.

H. N. RIDLEY.

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